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Quotations from Chairman Mao

What! "Take the three directives as the key link!" Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

The existence of classes and class struggle is a fact; it is wrong for some people to deny this fact, to deny the existence of class struggle. Any theory which attempts to reject the existence of class struggle is totally wrong.

Man's social being determines his consciousness. People of different classes, strata and social groups react differently to the great changes in our social system. The masses eagerly support them, for life itself has confirmed that socialism is the only way out for China.

We must guide the movement boldly and must not "always fear the dragons ahead and the tigers behind." Both cadres and peasants will remold themselves in the course of the struggles they themselves experience. Let them go into action and learn while doing, and they will become more capable. In this way, fine people will come forward in large numbers.

The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

* * *

From Bourgeois Democrats to Capitalist Roaders*

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

The great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts personally initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao is developing healthily in all spheres of the superstructure including education, science and technology, and literature and art. The spearhead of criticism is directed at that unrepentant capitalist roader in power within the Party who proposes "taking the three directives as the key link." This struggle is a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and another large-scale contest of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism and revisionism on the political and ideological fronts. A task of paramount importance that is laid before the comrades of the whole Party and the people throughout the country is to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, to resolutely beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, to thoroughly criticize the revisionist line which is opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Only in this way can the struggle win still greater victories. It is certain that as a result of this struggle, both cadres and the masses will receive a profound education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung, and will further raise their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. By the same token, China's socialist revolution and construction cause will take another giant step forward.

The in-depth development of the revolutionary mass debate poses some thought provoking questions: Why do some people who waged revolution against others during the period of the new democratic revolution always sing tunes antithetical to the revolution during the socialist revolution period and become capitalist roaders in power? Why have some capitalist roaders who swore "never reverse verdicts' after being criticized in the great cultural revolution vigorously whipped up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts shortly after they took up work again, reversed the decisions of the great cultural revolution and settled account with it and become unrepentant capitalist roaders? Why do these unrepentant capitalist roaders want to negate classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, oppose taking class struggle as the key link, and openly dish up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in opposition to the basic line laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party? To answer these questions, we must apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide and use the class analysis method to dissect the class stand and world outlook of the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party. This will enable us to find out the class and ideological sources of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, bring into fuller play their role as teachers by negative example, and learn beneficial lessons.

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* NCNA excerpts carried in SPRCP No. 6059.

In 1959, at the 8th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out: Right opportunist elements within the Party had never been proletarian revolutionaries but were merely bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats who wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat; they had never been Marxist-Leninists and were merely fellow-travelers of the Party. Unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party also belong to this category. They joined the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat with bourgeois democratic ideology; they joined the Party organizationally, but ideologically they did not entirely join it or even did not join it at all. When they accepted under varying degrees the Party's minimum program, namely, the new democratic revolutionary program, they did not link it with the Party's maximum program, the socialist and communist program. They did not know how, nor were prepared, to implement the Party's highest program. In other words, theirs was not the communist world outlook of the proletariat but the world outlook of a bourgeois kingdom. This bourgeois stand and world outlook, moreover, was not transformed during the protracted revolutionary struggle. When the revolution shifted from the stage of the new democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, their thinking remained unchanged. On the contrary, though living in socialist society, their thinking remains in the stage of democratic revolution. This determines their inevitable hostility or even opposition to the socialist revolution. The stand and world outlook of the bourgeois democrats represents the bourgeoisie and is the class and ideological source of the Right deviationist wind of reversing previous verdicts.

The new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution led by our Party are two stages of revolution which differ essentially in nature, targets and tasks. The former took place in semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, and the principal contradiction it had to resolve was the contradiction between the masses of people including workers, peasants, and the petty and national bourgeoisie on the one side and imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism on the other. So by nature it was an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution, and its task was, under the leadership of the proletariat, to overthrow the rule of imperialism, the feudal landlord class, and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeois class in China and to lead the revolution toward socialism. With the victory of the new democratic revolution came the changes in the nature and principal contradiction of Chinese society. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becomes the principal internal contradiction. This principal contradiction not only exists in society, but is also reflected within the Party. The socialist revolution we are undertaking is a revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The spearhead of revolution is directed at the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders in power within the Party. Its task is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, to use socialism to defeat capitalism, to gradually create through prolonged class struggle conditions in which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor arise again, and ultimately to abolish classes and realize communism. The founding of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949 marked the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution. During the past 20 years or more, the socialist revolution has won great victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, but far from being completed, it goes on developing in depth. The revolution has changed and surged ahead, and this requires people to change and develop their thoughts in keeping with the changes

and development of the revolution. If their thinking remains in the old stage and if they view and assess the socialist revolution from the stand and world outlook of the bourgeois democrats, then they will represent the bourgeoisie and become capitalist roaders and hence targets of the socialist revolution.

After the victory of the new democratic revolution in our country, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, Party members and cadres have never paused but have continued to advance along the socialist road. But some people within the Party still leave their thoughts in the stage of the democratic revolution, and do not want to continue to march forward along the socialist road and carry on the revolution. One who does not advance will regress; one who does not make revolution will go in for capitalist restoration; one who refrains from taking the socialist road will inevitably take the capitalist road. Lenin pointed out: "As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it--'They grabbed, let me have a go too.'" Is it not true that unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party have acted in the same manner? They are afraid that the socialist revolution will turn on them, affect private ownership, affect the bourgeois rights they like, affect the traditional concepts they want to defend, and affect their bourgeois stand and world outlook. They have become representatives of the bourgeoisie. As the socialist revolution deepens, their contradiction with the revolution and with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who persist in continuing the revolution sharpens. In the march of the socialist revolution, they beat a retreat and become opponents of the revolution. For instance, that unrepentant capitalist roader who is the "source" of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts in the past opposed agricultural cooperativization and the establishment of people's communes, supported fixing output quotas based on the individual households, and trumpeted the fallacy that "whether it is a white cat or black cat, so long as it catches mice, it is a good cat." Later on, he opposed the great cultural revolution and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement, and now he is trying to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. From being a bourgeois democrat to being a capitalist roader in power, from being a fellow traveller of the Party during the period of democratic revolution to being an oppositionist and restorationist during the period of socialist revolution, from keeping his thought in the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution to practicing revisionism--isn't this a road actually taken by the unrepentant capitalist roader?

Both historical experience and current struggle illustrate that during the period of socialist revolution, whoever keeps his thoughts in the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution will practice revisionism and push the revisionist line. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line." Judging by their ideological system and class origin, the bourgeois stand and world outlook are identical with revisionism. Opportunism and revisionism are factions and ideas representing the interests of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement, characterized as they are by betrayal of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Revisionists always take

the bourgeois stand and advocate the theory of class conciliation, the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces; they always use these revisionist fallacies to oppose the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and object to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such was the case from Bernstein and Kautsky to Trotsky and Bukharin and from Khrushchev and Brezhnev to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. It is also the case with the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party. He could not wait to dish out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle and theory of productive forces, and use these to negate the Party's basic line and oppose the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also uses them to interfere with and undermine the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of Water Margin personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, and to push the revisionist line in all spheres. The absurd arguments which appeared last year on the educational, scientific and technological, literary and art and other fronts and which went against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the great cultural revolution and the new socialist things are all derived from the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Anyone whose thinking remains in the stage of democratic revolution and who denies the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period is bound to practice revisionism. This has again been demonstrated by the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts stirred up by the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party.

Chairman Mao has said: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link!' Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This is a penetrating criticism of the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." For more than 20 years, our socialist revolution has won great victories. But class struggle has not died out. The defeated classes and their people are still around, and they will still struggle, dreaming all the time of a comeback. The bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are still there, as are the large numbers of intellectuals who have not completely reformed themselves. The force of habit and traditional influence of small production still exist and continue to engender the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Aren't these facts everyone can see? Haven't we been shocked by the conspiratorial activities of agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party, the anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, to vainly attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism? Haven't we received profound education from the emergence of new bourgeoisie elements within the Party, people like Lin Piao? The comrades at Tsinghua University have said rightly: The capitalist roaders are still taking the capitalist road and there are indeed capitulationists. In these circumstances, can we say that class struggle has died out? The unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party do not really want to put out class struggle when they dish out the fallacy of "taking the three directives as the key link" and advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. What they want is to put out the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and to mount a struggle against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Their desire for stability and unity and the development of production is false, and what is real is their intent to do away with the dictatorship of the proletariat

and restore capitalism. Their revisionist line undermines stability and unity and disrupts socialist production. This shows us by negative example that we must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in all fields--political, economic, ideological, cultural--and continue to push the socialist revolution forward.

After the victory of the democratic revolution, a fundamental difference between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois democrats and between Marxists and revisionists was whether to stop the revolution in the old stage and not to go further or to insist on starting the socialist revolution and struggle for the final realization of communism, namely, whether or not to perseveringly and untiringly carry out the revolution against the bourgeoisie. It is around this question that the struggle between the two lines has been unfolded within the Party in the socialist period. Because they themselves represent the bourgeoisie, chieftains of the revisionist line are all opposed to the revolution against the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie within the Party. Why do unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party resent the great cultural revolution so much? Why do they regard the new socialist things emerging from the great cultural revolution as a thorn in their flesh and try their utmost to "purge" them, while showing so much affection for the capitalist and revisionist trash criticized during the great cultural revolution and always trying to restore them? This is because "the great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes." This great revolution destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, criticized their revisionist lines, purged the capitalist roaders within the Party, made revolution against the bourgeoisie within the Party, criticized the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and reformed education, literature and art, and other parts of the superstructure which did not conform to the socialist economic base. All of this is antithetical to bourgeois interests represented and the bourgeois stand and world outlook stubbornly upheld by unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party, and runs counter to that capitalist road they insist on taking. This determines that they will inevitably fill the role as opponents to the great proletarian cultural revolution. People still clearly remember that it is that person now taking the lead in stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts who, in the early stages of the great cultural revolution, collaborated with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing a reactionary bourgeois line and attempting to suppress the vigorous revolutionary mass movement. However, such perverted actions failed to hold back the wheel of revolution, and both the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius won great victories. But the unrepentant capitalist roader has failed to learn his lessons from this, and still representing the bourgeoisie, he still looks at this great revolution from the revisionist viewpoint. He sees the excellent situation since the start of the great cultural revolution as all gloomy and dark and always believes that nothing is good, and unless verdicts are reversed and the old order restored, he will feel ill at ease. "Provided people say you have restored, then your job is done." This self-confession lays bare the reactionary stand of the unrepentant capitalist roaders in trying to restore the old order on behalf

of the bourgeoisie. Their performance this time again attests to Chairman Mao's wise assertion: "The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never close vigilance."

To push the socialist revolution forward, we must restrict the bourgeois rights existing in various fields in socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This too is unacceptable to and opposed by those whose ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution. In socialist society, there are still traces of the old society, there are still bourgeois rights, and there are still the three major differences. These things are the soil and conditions for the engendering of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. To restrict bourgeois rights and gradually dig out and eliminate the traces of the old society is a long-term task in the socialist period. The more the socialist revolution deepens, the greater will be the need to remind ourselves of this task and start to work for it. Chairman Mao points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." Chairman Mao's instruction reflects the desire and demand of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to push the socialist revolution forward; it also arouses the fear and hostility of those whose ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution. Bourgeois rights mean everything to those who want to stop the advance of the revolution. Bourgeois rights are what they relish and court. They always regard bourgeois rights as sacred and inviolable and always want to intensify and extend them. When revolution is made against these people and demands that those bourgeois rights they defend be restricted, they will come out to object. Why does that unrepentant capitalist roader hate so much the new things which restrict bourgeois rights in various respects? Why does he raise all kinds of allegations against criticism of the ideas of bourgeois rights such as material incentives and private ownership of knowledge? Why is it that he is so afraid of the question of restricting bourgeois rights and opposes it by a thousand and one means? Why does he blantantly oppose Chairman Mao's instructions, babbling that "restricting bourgeois rights also requires a material basis. In its absence, how can bourgeois rights be restricted?" This is because he represents the bourgeoisie, because he wants to defend and strengthen bourgeois rights and to maintain and expand the basis on which the birth and existence of the bourgeoisie depends. This further exposes the bourgeois stand and world outlook of this unrepentant capitalist roader.

The recurrent appearance of people within the Party who dislike or even oppose the socialist revolution because their thinking remains in the stage of democratic revolution has been an historical phenomenon over the past 20 years and more. For example, in 1953 our Party decided to enforce the policy of unified purchase and marketing. This was an important step to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. At that time, some people in the Party jumped out to oppose it vehemently, and although they claimed to

be communists, they became spokesmen for the capitalist forces in town and countryside opposing the socialist revolution. In the period of agricultural cooperation, Liu Shao-chi and company slashed a large number of cooperatives, and then, committed to settling accounts, stirred up a small typhoon alleging that there was nothing superior about the cooperatives. Why did they move against the great tide of socialist revolution? Why were they so different from and even opposed to the several hundred million peasants in words and deeds? The basical reason was that their thinking remained in the stage of democratic revolution, and they always took the bourgeois stand and served only a small number of people. As Chairman Mao pointed out, "instead of taking the stand of the working class and doing some hard thinking for the nation and people as a whole, they always side with the bourgeoisie, rich peasants or well-to-do middle peasants with their spontaneous tendency toward capitalism and think of the few." Take another instance. In 1957, when the bourgeois rightists took advantage of the Party's rectification campaign and launched a frenzied attack against the proletariat, some people within the Party also advocated a bourgeois program. Chiming in with bourgeois rightists in society, they called for practicing bourgeois "democracy," "freedom" and "equality" and opposed the Party's leadership, especially in education and science. They put forward such slogans as "outsiders cannot lead insiders" and "schools should be run by professors." In so doing, they actually advocated taking the capitalist road and opposed taking the socialist road and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1959 P'eng Te-huai's Right opportunism opposed the Party's general line and negated the great leap forward and the people's commune, which once again exposed the true colors of some people as bourgeois democrats. Since they wanted to enforce a capitalist program and bourgeois slogans in the period of socialist revolution, they could not but be washed out by the tide of socialist revolution.

In the period of socialist revolution, it is not a strange phenomenon that there are still some people within the Communist Party whose ideology remains in the stage of democratic revolution and who view things from the bourgeois stand and world outlook. Ours is a great, glorious and correct party. Guided by our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolutionary cause led by the Party has won great victories. But because the revolutionary movement led by our Party for a long time in the past was of a bourgeois democratic nature, a great number of bourgeois and petty bourgeois democrats joined the revolutionary ranks, including the vanguard force of the proletariat. Receiving Marxist-Leninist education and tempering themselves in revolutionary struggle for a long time, many of them gradually abandoned the bourgeois world outlook and accepted or established the proletarian stand and world outlook. But there was also a small number of them who were influenced by bourgeois ideology so deeply that they failed to be educated and transformed by the Party, and their stand and world outlook remained unchanged. And the thinking of the bourgeoisie existing in socialist society will also inevitably influence some people in the vanguard force of the proletariat and turn them into bourgeois democrats and revisionists. The world outlook of these people is invariably manifested stubbornly in various ways on political and ideological questions, and there is no way to prevent this from happening. Therefore, a proletarian party must resolutely struggle against such an attempt to transform the Party and society in the image of the bourgeoisie. As regards comrades who have made mistakes, our Party's policy has all along

been to "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient." In the current struggle, we must continue to observe this policy and patiently help errant comrades to correct their mistakes in order to unite with them in doing work well.

Chairman Mao has said: "We oppose the diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking cannot keep pace with the changed objective conditions. Such thinking expresses itself in the form of Right opportunism in history. These people fail to see the fact that the struggle of opposites has advanced the objective process, and their cognition still remains in a past stage. The thinking of all diehards has such a characteristic. With their thinking divorced from social practice, they cannot stand ahead of the chariot of society and act as a guide; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag the chariot of society back or turn it in the opposite direction." As the chariot of socialist revolution rolls forward, there are always people who stubbornly try to hold the chariot and turn it in the opposite direction. Such cases happened in the past, are happening now, and will happen in the future. Haven't the unrepentant capitalist roaders provided us a lesson in this respect? However, they are always a minority, truth is not in their hands, and the masses are not on their side. The masses demand revolution, and reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people. The proletariat will certainly triumph over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, socialism will certainly triumph over capitalism, and communism will certainly come true in the whole world--this is the general trend of historical development which no one can change.

* * *

Persist in Revolution in Literature and Art, Hit Back at the Right Deviationist Wind to Reverse Verdicts

by

Ch'u Lan (初瀾)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

Last summer and fall, when the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was on the rampage in educational and scientific and technological circles, it was not all quiet in literary and art circles either. Rumors rose everywhere and turbid waves roared. The spearhead of attack was recklessly aimed at Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and our great leader Chairman Mao.

People cannot but ask: Where did this sinister wind in literary and art circles come from? Now, it is quite clear that the source of the wind comes from that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party. This indicates that the struggle in literary and art circles is not an isolated or fortutious phenomenon, but has a profound political background and is an important aspect of the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Where the bourgeoisie attacks, the proletariat must beat it back. Now is the time to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts on the literary and art front!

At the 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee in 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The great proletarian cultural revolution participated in by millions and millions of people was started precisely on the cultural and educational fronts. The capitalist roaders within the Party, who represent the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes, always regard the revolution in education and in literature and art as a thorn in the flesh and are only too happy to get rid of it. So their counter-attack in revenge also began here.

The Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in literary and art circles has a salient characteristic: to focus the attack on the model revolutionary theatrical works in a vain attempt to make a breakthrough here so as to negate the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works, reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution, allow the revisionist sinister line in literature and art to stage a comeback, displace the correct leadership of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the literary and art sphere since the great cultural revolution, and so attain the evil goal of restoring capitalism from the literary and art stage to the political stage.

It has been 10 years since the great proletarian cultural revolution started. These ten years in literary and art circles have seen "past scenes transformed" and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie turned into the dictatorship of the proletariat. The major hallmark of the tremendous changes brought about by the revolution in literature and art is the birth

of a succession of model revolutionary theatrical works. Whether to affirm or reject the model revolutionary theatrical works has always been the focus of struggle between the two classes and two lines on the literary and art front. The splendid victories of the proletariat inevitably mean the crushing defeats of the bourgeoisie. The orientation and road displayed and the profound impact triggered by the model revolutionary theatrical works, plus their force as models, have invited both hate and fear of the bourgeoisie. That is why they always want to concoct various absurd arguments to slander these works. Shortly after the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party dished up the fallacy that "model theatrical works cannot blossom as the only flower," the cold wind alleging that "model theatrical works hinder the development of literature and art" blew out of dark corners.

Do model revolutionary theatrical works "blossom as the only flower" or do they promote socialist literature and art in such a way that "all flowers blossom together?" Have they "hindered" or promoted the development of literary and art creations? This is a cardinal question of right and wrong which must be made clear through debate.

Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, under the impact of model revolutionary theatrical works, progress has been made in theatrical work, literature, film-making, music, dance, ballads, fine arts and photography, and particularly in recent years, tremendous progress has taken place both quantitatively and qualitatively. In the past 2 years alone, over 190 performances of theatrical works, music, dances, songs, puppet shows and shadow shows were staged during national literary and art festivals in Peking. Even the creation of feature films--admittedly a relatively weak link-has made headway in recent years. Many films with relatively fine ideological and artistic features have been produced. Without the impact of model revolutionary theatrical works, it may be said, it is doubtful that such fine feature films as "Ch'un Miao," "Breaking with Old Ideas," "The Second Spring," "The Sparkling Red Star," "The Green Pine Ridge" and "The Unforgetable Battle" could have been produced. Also, a great number of science and education films which reflect the Chinese working class's industry, wisdom and spirit of self-reliance have appeared and forcefully rebuffed the slavish comprador philosophy. By seriously learning from the experience of creating model revolutionary theatrical works, the vast number of revolutionary literary and art workers have created a great number of new works. Themes of model revolutionary theatrical works have been incorporated into local theatrical works and dramas, giving a strong impetus to new progress in these art forms. In recent years, mass amateur literary and art creations have also demonstrated unsurpassed vigor and vitality. In short, a host of facts shows that the revolution in literature and art exemplified by model revolutionary theatrical works has enabled socialist literature and art to flourish daily and promoted diversity of art forms and styles. A booming scene of a hundred flowers blooming has prevailed.

Let us ask the advocators of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts: What is your basis for attacking model revolutionary theatrical works for being "the only flower blooming" and "hindering the development of literature and art"? Though your eyes are wide open, you are blind to

ironclad facts. You refuse to recognize them but trump up charges against model revolutionary theatrical works. Isn't this the way of a tyrant? Model revolutionary theatrical works, precious works of art combining revolutionary political content and relatively perfect art form, have won the hearty acclaim from workers, peasants and soldiers, who have thronged to see them and learned to sing the songs in them. Model theatrical works have become household words and gained great popularity among the people. Yet that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party has even refused to see a single show and lied that "it is hard to sell tickets for model plays these days." If this is not pure groundless slander, what is it? Before the great cultural revolution began, when old theatrical works dominated the stage, the box-office record was very low. Sometimes spectators below the stage were even fewer than the players on the stage. When did that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party ever say that "tickets are hard to sell"? As for those feudal, bourgeois and revisionist stuff which flooded the literary and art stage in the past, when did he ever point out that they represented the "blooming of the only flower" of the landlord and bourgeois classes? No. On the contrary, he enthusiastically promoted them and never stopped praising them. Today, just when proletarian revolutionary literature and art have barely occupied the stage, he ferociously denounces them. In view of these facts, isn't it clear what he loves and what he hates, what class stand he takes and for which class he speaks?

Is it true that model revolutionary theatrical works do not "hinder" the development of any literature and art? Not necessarily. It is not to be doubted that they promote and stimulate the development of socialist literature and art. But they are bound to restrict and hinder the development of feudal, bourgeois, revisionist and reactionary literature and art, and this cannot please the proletariat and the revolutionary people more. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest. Unless feudal, bourgeois, revisionist and reactionary literature and art are overthrown, proletarian revolutionary literature and art cannot be established. "What is beautiful does not compete with spring but only heralds the advent of spring." Model revolutionary theatrical works are red plum flowers which herald the coming of spring. They have not only ushered in socialist literature and art which fills the garden with the aura of spring but also unfold more dazzling prospects ahead. Letting the fragrant flowers of socialist literature and art bloom and eliminating the poisonous weeds of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art--this has always been a firm class policy of the proletariat in the sphere of literature and art. The unrepentant capitalist roader's "blooming alone" theory is, in fact, intended to chop down all the red plum flowers of model revolutionary theatrical works which herald the coming of spring so as to prevent a hundred flowers blooming together in socialist literature and art and to allow the poisonous weeds of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art he promotes so keenly to dominate the stage again.

"There is no love without cause nor hatred without cause in this world." Why does the unrepentant capitalist roader hate the model revolutionary theatrical works so much? A major reason is that model revolutionary theatrical works have molded a series of images of proletarian heroes.

In his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" Chairman Mao taught us: Literature and art should serve workers, peasants and

soldiers and portray "new people and the new world." Ten years ago, "The Summary of A Forum on Literary and Art Work in the Armed Forces" held under Chairman Mao's personal concern pointed out clearly: "It is necessary to strive to create heroic characters of workers, peasants and soldiers, for this is a fundamental task of socialist literature and art." Proposing this fundamental task forcefully manifested the need for literature and art to serve workers, peasants and soldiers. To fulfill this fundamental task, model revolutionary theatrical works fostered by the proletariat have wholeheartedly and energetically striven to create a number of shining images of proletarian heroes, expelled emperors, kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, demons and freaks from the literary and art stage, and thus performed indelibly meritorious deeds in the history of revolutionary literature and art. That is why the fundamental task of socialist literature and art has been assailed by the bourgeoisie. They always complain about this as being "unscientific" and that as being "improper," hoping day and night that the proletariat would give up this basic task. The reason why that unrepentant capitalist roader has refused all along to see model revolutionary theatrical works is that he feels ill at ease with the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers dominating the stage and feels even sadder when he thinks of those demons and freaks driven off the stage. In 1964, the "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" theatrical group organized a special show for him. Even when the actors and actresses had put on their costumes, he still refused to see them. Yet he insisted on seeing an old Lü opera "Sister Re-marries." Ten years later, he not only still refuses to see model revolutionary theatrical plays but also resents those fine works created on the basis of learning from the experience of model revolutionary theatrical works. He saw only half of the film "Ch'un Miao" and left with displeasure, denouncing it as "ultra-Left." On the contrary, he is instantly attracted to those works which either challenge model revolutionary theatrical works or distort the image of workers, peasants and soldiers, and personally comes out to back them up. In short, he opposes what the proletariat supports and supports what the proletariat opposes. He opposes the proletariat and opposes the fundamental task of socialist literature and art set forth in the "Summary." The question of whether we should have worker-peasant-soldier heroic characters dominate the literary and art stage is, in essence, a question of whether we should recognize the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as masters of the country. By opposing literature and art eulogizing and carving worker-peasant-soldier heroic characters, the capitalist roaders within the Party actually negate, on behalf of the bourgeoisie, the political status of workers, peasants and soldiers in our country.

Another major reason why the bourgeoisie attacks the model revolutionary theatrical works is that the experience of creating these works always emphasizes the reflection of class struggle. This of course also hurts their nerves.

Marxism holds that class struggle is the direct motive force of historical development and a gigantic lever of social change. But the revisionists are extremely afraid of this truth. "The bourgeoisie 'hopes' to restrict class struggle, distort and reduce its concept, and blunt its edge." The aim of that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party in tossing out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," in confounding and replacing the key link with everything else

is to deny class struggle as the key link and restore capitalism. His theoretical basis is the theory of the dying out of class struggle. And the pernicious influence of this reactionary fallacy has spread far and wide in all spheres. In literature and art, he rejects the general existence of class struggle in real life and opposes literary and art works describing class struggle. Fanned by the so-called "taking the three directives as the key link," various absurd arguments have been advanced, such as "class struggle does not exist everywhere in life" and "emphasis on writing about class struggle is something too absolute." These arguments have one common feature, that is, to direct the spearhead at model revolutionary theatrical works which reflect class struggle in various historical revolutionary periods of our country and to oppose the carving of proletarian heroic models in sharp class struggle. They even slander all the experiences of creating model revolutionary theatrical works in this and other respects as "a spell" that "restricts the creative spirit" and "the same source of ideas" for these works. In fact, those who preach the theory of the dying out of class struggle do not die out themselves. From their loud and clear opposition to revolutionary literature and art, doesn't one see that class struggle has not died out? During the decade since the start of the cultural revolution in literary and art circles, when did the bourgeoisie stop attacking the revolution in literature and art? Both historical and current experiences tell us that the day when the theory of the dying out of class struggle is most noisily preached is precisely the moment when class struggle rages most fiercely. Those arguments which oppose revolutionary literature and art reflecting class struggle precisely manifest the intensification of class struggle in the ideological sphere. When the model revolutionary theatrical works dominate the literary and art stage, they indeed pose a big obstacle to the revisionist preaching of the theory of the dying out of class struggle. In order to open the road for restoration, they must do their utmost to reverse the verdicts on such poisonous weeds and bad works as "Three Visits to T'aofeng," "The Turbulent Beach" that had been criticized,and launch vengeful counter-attack while vigorously attacking the model revolutionary theatrical works. They fan up evil winds and fabricate rumors, making it appear instantly that poisonous weeds are no longer poisonous, bad plays no longer bad, sinister paintings no longer sinister, and fragrant flowers no longer fragrant. Putting the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, which calls white black and confuses right and wrong, in literary and art circles and similar situations in the educational, scientific and technological and other spheres in the same perspective will suffice to show that class struggle indeed "exists everywhere" and its existence is indeed "absolute." Is the experience in creating model revolutionary theatrical works which emphasize portrayal of class struggle "a spell"? Yes, it is more than "a spell" to the bourgeoisie you represent; it is a massive cudgel! Isn't this "the same source of ideas"? No. In fact, it is the theory of the dying out of class struggle you peddle that provides "the same source of ideas" for all revisionist literary and art works. No one can deny the existence of class struggle. If revolutionary literature and art do not reflect class struggle, they will surely slip onto the wrong path of revisionism. We must follow the Party's basic line, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, and strive to find major themes that reflect class struggle, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism and between the Marxist line and the revisionist line, and more important, the struggle against capitalist roaders within the Party under the dictatorship

of the proletariat, so that our literature and art will be richer in militancy and reflect more profoundly the characteristics and law of class struggle during the socialist period.

The concentrated presentation of the current struggle between the two classes and two lines on the literature and art front is, in the final analysis, still a question of how to assess the great proletarian cultural revolution. With regard to the state of literature and art before and after the great cultural revolution, there are two diametrically opposite appraisals. The proletarian conclusion is that the present is better than the past. Literary and art circles in the past were dominated by a sinister revisionist line in literature and art with the bourgeoisie exercising dictatorship over the proletariat. As Chairman Mao pointed out, "Many departments are still dominated by the 'dead'." If the Ministry of Culture "does not change, it should be renamed the ministry of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers, the ministry of scholars and beauties or the ministry of foreign mummies." In literary and art circles today, the proletariat exercises dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art shines everywhere, and the stage of socialist literature and art is characterized by "orioles sing, swallows swirl." All this is rejected out of hand by the bourgeoisie. They believe that "the present is not as good as the past." In the eyes of the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, there is nothing good about this new thing, the revolution in literature and art, and nothing good about the new leading groups and revolutionary literary and art contingent tempered and nurtured in the great cultural revolution. In short, he wants to make an "adjustment." So, plans were hatched in chamber and fires were kindled at the grassroots level. They vainly attempted to force some old intellectuals in literary and art circles to "submit memorials" attacking the Party's policy on literature and art and smearing the excellent situation of the revolution in literature and art. When this attempt was resisted, they went so far as to ask others to write for them. To them, any means is justified by the end! Instigated by the "adjustment" order, an evil wind appeared in society lauding the sinister revisionist line in literature and art of "17 years," lauding the former Ministry of Culture, lauding the "four heroes," and calling for "a re-appraisal of literature and art of 17 years." To praise and revive the soul of the revisionist sinister line on liberature and art and the former Ministry of Culture is to directly negate Chairman Mao's successive instructions on the question of literature and art during the 17 years after Liberation, to negate Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and to allow the "home-returning corps" of the landlord and capitalist classes to return to the literary and art circles and dominate them. In view of this serious prospect of capitalist restoration, shouldn't the proletariat, the vast numbers of revolutionary people and every revolutionary literary and art fighter allow this to happen? Of course not. We have only one answer: the victorious achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution must not be lost lightly but must be defended with battle!

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has always been a tit-for-tat struggle. The more intensely the bourgeoisie hates and attacks the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by model revolutionary theatrical works, the more we must cherish, love and defend it. The current struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts on all fronts is the continuation and deepening of the

great proletarian cultural revolution, with a bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and state. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we must thoroughly understand the essence and meaning of this struggle, scathingly criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," deepen the revolutionary mass debate, and win new victories in the proletarian revolution in literature and art!

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The Right Deviationist Wind of Reversing Verdicts and Bourgeois Rights

by

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In going all out to stir up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party have deep class and ideological roots as well as an economic base. In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, to profoundly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to clearly understand the relationship between the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts and bourgeois rights is vitally important to us in seeing through the bourgeois character of the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party, in enhancing our understanding of the great significance of this struggle and in conscientiously persevering in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Although we have won great victories in the socialist revolution and have established and continued to consolidate and strengthen the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, we have only taken the "preliminary steps" in the transition from capitalism to communism compared with the task to abolish classes and the three major differences we must accomplish in the entire historical period of socialism. As Chairman Mao has always reminded us, class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie still exists for a long time in socialist society. Due to the existence of bourgeois rights, inequalities in fact still exist. Ours is still "a bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie." Our economic base is still not solid. There is still soil engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. This is inevitable because socialist society is born of capitalist society and cannot free itself completely from traditions or birthmarks of capitalism economically, morally and intellectually. As for bourgeois rights, we must not only recognize them but also restrict them under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and under no circumstances must we allow them to develop and expand. It is virtually impossible not to recognize them, and it is impossible to sweep them away at one stroke. But if we do not restrict them but let them develop and expand, we would strengthen the bourgeois forces and encourage restorationist activities by the newly engendered bourgeoisie within the Party. In such a case, not only would we not be able to advance toward communism, but a capitalist restoration might result. Doesn't the fact that, by pushing the revisionist line and going all out to defend and expand bourgeois rights, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao caused some units to change their socialist nature in varying degrees provide us with a profound lesson?

Restricting bourgeois rights is a class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Lenin once said: "All recorded history thus far is a history of class struggle, a history of some constantly changing social classes ruling or triumphing over others. This situation will continue

until the disappearance of class struggle and the basis for class rule, namely, the system of private ownership and disorganized social production. The interests of the proletariat demand the abolition of this basis, and so class struggle waged consciously by organized workers should also be directed at this basis." ("F. Engels") These remarks of Lenin's clearly tell us that as long as class struggle and the economic basis of class rule exist, class struggle will not cease, and that the abolition of this economic basis is an important aspect of the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Under socialist conditions, the proletariat and the revolutionary people, in order to push the revolutionary cause forward and realize the lofty ideal of communism, must always proceed from reality and positively adopt measures to restrict bourgeois rights in order to "expell their class enemies from their last corners, dig up the old roots of their rule, and remove the fertile soil which can (and will) engender the system of wage slaves, the poverty of the masses and the fortunes of the rich." (Lenin, "Being Frightened by the Destruction of Old Things and Struggle for the New Things") However, the exploiting classes are not reconciled to their defeat, and will stubbornly resist any effort to weaken and eliminate the condition on which their survival depends, namely, the economic basis. The more we restrict bourgeois rights, the more frantically they will oppose such restriction. This is an objective law of class struggle independent of man's will. On the question of dealing with bourgeois rights, the struggle between restriction by the proletariat and counter-restriction by the bourgeoisie is inevitable, and this struggle will go on for a fairly long time.

Why do the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party want to whip up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts and overthrow the decisions of the great proletarian cultural revolution? An important reason is that through this revolution, we have further restricted bourgeois rights. The two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were destroyed, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pushed was criticized by the revolutionary masses, and a great number of new things of socialism which are important and instrumental in restricting bourgeois rights have grown and developed thrivingly. In the face of this situation, how can the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party, who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois rights, not feel angry and hate what they see? New socialist things are new fruits born of the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and are an important indication of the penetrating development of the socialist revolution. While they please and inspire all the revolutionary people, they are looked upon with disfavor by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party. For instance, the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, including the role played by revolutionary old cadres and the growth of revolutionary young cadres, is unfavorable to pushing the revisionist line in leading organs at various levels under their control, and so they emphasize that in work we must still rely on the "old" capitalist roaders, namely, their gang who vainly attempt to restore capitalism. The admission of workers, peasants and soldiers into universities has smashed the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals and abolished the privileges of the bourgeoisie in solely occupying the educational position, and so they go out of their way to attack this and advocate that the practice of sending middle school graduates directly to universities be continued. The integration of scientists and technologists with workers and peasants and the mastery of science and technology by the broad masses have broken the monopoly of science and

technology by the bourgeoisie, and they have lost yet another "hereditary domain," and so they frantically oppose this, yelling that open-door scientific research should not be discussed in too general terms. The extensive introduction of the cooperative medical service and the sturdy growth of barefoot doctors are gradually changing the backward situation of the vast Chinese countryside that used to suffer from lack of doctors and medicine and encroaching on the authority in medical and health work held by "urban overlords"; this, in their eyes, cannot be permitted, and so they vehemently attack barefoot doctors for having a low level and the cooperative medical service for blowing the "communist wind." And so on and so forth. In short, from the angle of maintaining bourgeois rights, they measure everything with the revisionist yardsticks of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao as well as their own. However much they try, they cannot bring themselves to like the booming socialist cause, and as they see it, everything is not as good as it was before the great proletarian cultural revolution. What can they do? They can only "shift" everything to the revisionist line, to the capitalist road. Therefore, under their revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," they have concocted all kinds of absurd arguments to vigorously undermine the new things of socialism which have emerged since the great proletarian cultural revolution in the name of "consolidation." This has fully exposed their reactionary stand in stubbornly adhering to revisionism and opposing Marxism. They obstinately push a revisionist line which runs counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and oppose the restriction of bourgeois rights; this fully represents the interests of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes and the newly engendered bourgeois elements and reflects the desire of these class enemies in vainly attempting to restore capitalism and seize power.

It is not accidental that the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts should have been so fierce during a certain period last year. It is a natural reflection of the strong resistance put up by the bourgeoisie against the flourishing socialist revolution. Toward the end of the year before the last, the great leader Chairman Mao issued an important instruction on the question of theory, pointing out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." Dwelling on the socialist system, Chairman Mao said: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange through money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." Chairman Mao pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao should come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. So we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." These instructions of Chairman Mao's point out the character, target, tasks and future of the socialist revolution, stressing the necessity and importance of restricting the bourgeois rights to combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and providing us with a powerful ideological weapon to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In compliance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole nation have penetratingly studied the theory of

the dictatorship of the proletariat and heightened their Marxist ideological and theoretical level. They are determined to take class struggle as the key link, do a still better job in implementing the Party's basic line, consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and give active support to the new emerging things of socialism. Meanwhile, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have, on the basis of heightening their awareness, deepened their criticism of the idea of bourgeois rights. Conducting investigations and research and proceeding from reality, they are studying proper and effective measures to further restrict bourgeois rights with a view to gradually eliminating the three major differences and the differences between grades, gradually creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new one to arise, and pushing the socialist cause forward. In these circumstances the unrepentant capitalist roaders, out of their reactionary nature, feel that the tide is turning against them and cannot wait to jump out. They not only pour cold water on the study of how to further restrict bourgeois rights, but even unreasonably forbid anyone to mention this concept "bourgeois rights." Moreover, they even want to do away with some revolutionary measures that have been adopted since the great proletarian cultural revolution, and blatantly work in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is also not surprising at all. Whenever the revolution develops forward and whenever new things of revolution emerge, there will always be people who come out to oppose them. This is a good thing, not a bad thing. Speaking at a ceremony marking the third anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Military and Political University of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao said: "A section of people oppose Kang Ta, and they are the capitulationists and diehards in the country. This precisely shows that Kang Ta is a most revolutionary and most progressive school. Were it not so, they should not have opposed it." The fact that the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party are opposed to the new emerging things of socialism and to the restriction of bourgeois rights shows that what we are doing is correct and hurts them where it hurts most. At the same time, this also shows that they are diehards upholding the revisionist line and capitulationists serving the bourgeoisie.

In opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party stirring up the Right deviationist wind argue: "In restricting bourgeois rights, it is also necessary to have a material basis. Without it, how can we restrict?" That means a material basis is still lacking for restricting bourgeois rights at present. We may ask: what kind of material basis must we have in order to restrict bourgeois rights? In the years of revolutionary war before the proletariat seized nationwide power, in the long period from Chairman Mao going to the Chingkangshan to nationwide liberation, the material conditions were so harsh, yet we were able to practice military communism without distinctions as to rank and without salaries, and there was equality between officers and men and unity between the army and the people. Today, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever before, thanks to more than 20 years of socialist revolution and construction, particularly thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution. Mao Tsetung Thought has

gone deep into people's hearts. People's ideological consciousness has been greatly raised. Social productivity has been vigorously developed, and our material conditions are far better than those in the years of revolutionary war. Can it be that we do not have the conditions for restricting bourgeois rights? Can we say that because material conditions are better than in the past, there is no material basis for restricting bourgeois rights? It is, however, a fact to say that present social products are not yet abundant. But can it be that we should restrict bourgeois rights only when social products have become abundant? In that case, we can only wait until communism arrives. However, if bourgeois rights are not restricted now, capitalism will be restored, the development of the productive forces will be impeded, it will be impossible to achieve communism, and it will be only an illusion to want to have abundant social products. Thus, we can see that the allegation by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party that the material basis is not present is entirely intended to oppose the restriction of bourgeois rights, an excuse to oppose continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Judging from the historical experience of the proletarian revolution, chieftains of the revisionist line often oppose the revolution on the pretext of non-availability of conditions. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i opposed the socialist revolution because he wanted to take the capitalist road. In order to maintain bourgeois rights in respect to the ownership of the means of production, he objected to agricultural cooperativization and the movement to set up people's communes. In doing all this, didn't he use non-availability of conditions as a pretext? What the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party follow is none other than that revisionist line followed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao.

We must continue to criticize the idea of bourgeois rights. Unless we do so, we cannot consolidate the achievements made in restricting bourgeois rights nor adopt more restrictive measures to remove the obstacles. However, criticism of the idea of bourgeois rights cannot completely replace the restriction of bourgeois rights in real life. The restriction of bourgeois rights has a concrete material aspect. Our aim is to gradually curtail and eventually abolish all bourgeois rights so as to help people "move from equality in form to equality in fact." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution") The trick played by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party in permitting only criticism of the concept but not discussion on restricting, and even less, criticizing bourgeois rights is aimed at forbidding people to touch bourgeois rights even a little bit. On the contrary, they want to develop and expand them without bounds. In fact, it is also a sham when they talk about criticism of the concept of bourgeois rights. Don't they fear and hate the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the action of the broad masses to actively criticize and restrict the concept of bourgeois rights? Don't they relish and hold fast to the bourgeois lifestyle and things of that sort that have been totally discredited by the masses?

The unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party, by whipping up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts and opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights, have become the agents of the bourgeoisie within our Party. This is a very profound lesson for every Party member, every cadre and every revolutionary. The reality of the severe class struggle tells us that following the daily in-depth development of the

socialist revolution, whether our thinking can keep pace with the developing situation is given striking manifestation on the question of restricting bourgeois rights. Whether we should restrict bourgeois rights and what kind of attitude we should adopt is an important test of whether we can persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a touchstone for distinguishing practice of Marxism from that of revisionism. Within our Party and revolutionary ranks there are many who came from the period of democratic revolution and who had done some useful work for the Party and the people. During the period of socialist revolution, the majority of them have continued to forge ahead together with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. But some are reluctant to move forward, their thinking still remaining in the stage of the democratic revolution, and some have even regressed. In "Letter from the Central Committee to the Communist League," Marx and Engels said: "The democratic small property holders are not willing to change the entire society in the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. They want the social system changed in such a way that they can get as much satisfaction and comfort as possible from the existing society." These words point out the ideological characteristics of certain bourgeois and petty bourgeois democrats. There are also similar people in our revolutionary ranks. These people do not understand the prospects of history. Fettered by the conventional rules of capitalism, they are just like small proprietors calculating their own loss and gain without considering the final goal of the proletarian revolution, the achievement of communism. When the task of the democratic revolution is fulfilled, their aim is attained and no more do they want to continue the revolution. Every time the socialist revolution advances one step, they feel as if they had lost something and resent the restriction of bourgeois rights. The unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party are the representatives of such persons. However, society always keeps advancing and history is constantly developing. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat will never stop. When the proletariat and the revolutionary masses continue the revolution along the Marxist line, they may fill the role of diehards trying to stem the revolutionary torrent. All comrades who are willing to continue the revolution must recognize this law of class struggle, conscientiously study and read, strive to transform their world outlook, be promoters in restricting bourgeois rights, and follow the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants in forging ahead.

Chairman Mao says: "Opportunists who want to stem the tide are found almost everywhere, but the tide can never be stemmed. Socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly, leaving all obstructions behind." It is sheer wishful thinking for the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party to whip up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts to launch a counter-attack on the proletariat in revenge, oppose the restriction of bourgeois rights, stop the wheel of history, and promote restoration and regression. The struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts will surely help the masses and cadres raise their awareness in restricting bourgeois rights and further weaken the economic basis for capitalist restoration. In this fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the Marxist line and the revisionist line, a struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, we must seriously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, strive to delve into the theory of the dictatorship of

the proletariat, and roundly criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party. We must recognize the danger to the socialist cause posed by capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road, actively sweep away all obstacles on our road of advance, and win new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

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It Is Impermissible To Tamper with the Five Criteria for Successors to the Revolution

by

Chao Yüan (赵 源)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

Following the gradual deepening of the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, people have come to see more and more clearly how the unrepentant capitalist roaders advanced the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," stubbornly pushed a revisionist line which runs counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, vigorously whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts,and launched a full-scale attack against the proletariat politically, ideologically and organizationally. In order to achieve their reactionary political goal of restoring capitalism, they have also spread a lot of absurd arguments on the question of cadres and leading groups and made every effort to oppose and tamper with the five criteria set forth by Chairman Mao for the training of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. To expose and criticize these absurdities and to adhere to the five criteria for successors to the revolution is an important aspect of beating back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts.

After summing up the historical experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad and particularly in view of the profound lesson learned from the usurpation of the Party and state leadership by the Khrushchev renegade clique in the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao comprehensively set forth five criteria for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. These are: practice Marxism, and not revisionism; work for the well-being of the great majority of the people of China and the whole world; be capable of uniting with the great majority, but be especially alert against careerists and conspirators like Khrushchev and prevent such bad persons from usurping the leadership of the Party and state at various levels; consult with the masses when problems of common concern arise; be brave to make criticism and self-criticism. Of these five criteria, the most basic is to practice Marxism and not revisionism. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If we practice Marxism and wholeheartedly work for the interests of the great majority of the people of China and the whole world, we can unite with the great majority to work together, exemplarily apply the Party's democratic centralism, maintain close ties with the masses, be strict in analyzing oneself and be brave in making criticism and self-criticism. Conversely, if we practice revisionism and serve a handful of exploiting-class elements, we are bound to practice sectarianism, create division, divorce ourselves from the masses, and follow an erroneous line. Therefore, in training and selecting successors to the revolution, we must first of all see whether they practice Marxism or revisionism and whether they adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Only by resolutely training successors to the revolution in accordance with the five criteria set by Chairman Mao and paying attention to the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young can we guarantee that

the leadership of our Party and state will be in the hands of genuine Marxists, completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeois with the dictatorship of the proletariat, use socialism to vanquish capitalism, and ultimately realize communism. This is an extremely important question bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state; it is a plan for the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years.

What criteria should be observed in training successors has always been a question of principle in the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two lines, Marxist and revisionist. Proceeding from their counter-revolutionary political needs, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and other chieftains of the revisionist line all put forward a set of revisionist criteria. Liu Shao-ch'i dished up the black Self-Cultivation and sinister "six theories," and used poisonous ideas of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism to corrupt Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres. Lin Piao adopted the tactic of mixing fish eyes with pearls and passing off imitation for the genuine, and used the three requirements of so-called "holding high," "giving prominence to" and "all-out effort" to replace Chairman Mao's five criteria. They had one thing in common: they did not talk about Marxism-Leninism, the line nor about seeking the well-being of the proletariat and the masses of people, and vainly attempted to transform our Party and our cadres in the image of the bourgeoisie and realize their criminal plot of restoring capitalism. The unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, inheriting the mantle of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, openly tampers with Chairman Mao's five criteria for training successors to the revolution. He completely jettisons the key link, class struggle, and the Party's basic line. He energetically calls for employing cadres who "put courage to the fore" and who "are not afraid of being struck down as individuals," "consolidating" the "soft, lazy and disorganized" leading groups, and so on and so forth. These absurdities are natural reflection of his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" on the cadre question. We must use the Marxist viewpoint of class and line struggles to dissect the reactionary nature of this set of revisionist fallacies and expose his evil intention.

"Dare" and "dare not" have never been something in the abstract; they always contain concrete class content and are related to a definite line. Proletarian "daring" and bourgeois "daring" are completely different in content. In the violent battle against class enemies at home and abroad, in the acute struggle against the opportunist line within the Party, and in the face of all hardships and hazards, Chairman Mao has consistently taught us to have the dauntless heroic bearing and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, dare to struggle and dare to win. This kind of daring is beyond any doubt what should be carried forward. "We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven, and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas." On the journey of continuing the revolution under the dictaotrship of the proletariat, we must, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, dare to fight against capitalism, revisionism and erroneous tendencies, brave the winds and waves, ceaselessly forge ahead, scale new heights and win new victories. The unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party who proposes "taking the three directives as the key link" diverges from the key link, class struggle, and from the Party's basic line, and volubly talks about

"putting daring to the fore." What, after all, is he after? A great number of facts show that he does not talk about the Party's basic line because he wants to push his revisionist line, and that when he writes off struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie as the key link, he wants to attack the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Such "putting daring to the fore" can only mean daring to challenge Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism. When the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party ferociously clamors about "not being afraid of being struck down as an individual," he wants to back up the restorationist forces adhering to the capitalist road and encourage them to challenge the proletariat, to reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution and to launch vengeful counter-attack against the revolutionary masses. When the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was on the ascent, the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party smugly said: "Provided people say you have restored, then your job is done." This confession fully reveals the features of a restorationist maniac and exposes the class essence of his "putting daring to the fore"; it can very well sharpen the eyes of those naive and somewhat bookish persons. Lenin put it well: "The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters--who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it--threw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise,' of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky") Don't the overthrown exploiters have a little taste of "daring put to the fore"? Faced with the life-and-death class struggle in which the proletariat either dictates to or is dictated by the bourgeoisie, the unrepentant capitalist roaders discard the key link, class struggle, and the Party's basic line, talk about "putting daring to the fore" in the abstract, and vainly attempt to tamper with Chairman Mao's five criteria for successors to the revolution. Isn't it very clear where they want to lead the vast numbers of cadres to? But their effort will come to naught. The masses of Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres, tempered and tested in the great proletarian cultural revolution, have seen through their evil intent, and are waging resolute struggle against them.

The three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading groups at all levels is a new socialist thing that emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution, a good form for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with Chairman Mao's five criteria. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, after going through the great cultural revolution, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and the criticism of Water Margin, our leading bodies of three-in-one combination at all levels have steadily improved themselves, acquired still greater vigor and vitality, and played an increasing role in socialist revolution and construction. Of course, the leading bodies of three-in-one combination may still face problems of various sorts in the course of their advance, and they must strengthen their revolutionized building. The most fundamental requirement in building leading groups is to take class struggle as the key link and put the ideological and political line right. Only when the

ideological and political line is correct will other problems be solved more properly. To adjust the "soft, lazy, and disorganized" without taking class struggle as the key link and without looking at problems in the context of the line, one will not have correct criteria and correct methods. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, our leading groups at all levels must become staunch command headquarters that are combat-effective, imbued with revolutionary vigor and closely united in resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But if the line is wrong and is not corrected in time, wouldn't they become "harder" and worse? If their orientation is wrong and if they just push the cart without looking at the road, wouldn't they go farther and farther away from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line the more "diligently" they work? Can we ignore the right and wrong in line and hold that any leading group where there is disagreement and struggle among the leading members is a "disorganized group"? The purpose of the unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party in adjusting the so-called "soft, lazy and disorganized" leading groups without taking class struggle as the key link is, in plain truth, to totally negate the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, to strangle this new socialist thing, to hit at cadres who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, reject the new forces emerging from the great cultural revolution, fill the leading groups at all levels with people eager to practice capitalism and revisionism, and build leading groups which are "soft" in practicing Marxism and "hard" in practicing revisionism so as to contend with the proletariat for leadership and make organizational preparations for restoring capitalism. Hasn't the unrepentant capitalist roader said that all cadres, regardless of what mistakes they have committed, should be employed? This is no way to show concern about errant cadres. He is merely trying to gather together those people who are dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution and want to settle account with it and form them into "hard" groups vigorously whipping up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts. All revolutionary cadres, including those comrades who, after making mistakes, have returned or are willing to return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, must never be taken in! Look, aren't certain departments in educational and scientific and technical circles where they once held the leadership and where the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts has blown most ferociously and the dregs of revisionism have come to the surface specimens of their so-called "adjustment"?

All revolutionary comrades must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's teachings concerning Party building and review his many important instructions concerning the questions of ideology and style of work of leading cadres and Communist Party members issued during the great cultural revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." The vanguard of the proletariat must of course arm itself with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao also said: "In the reform of state organs, the most fundamental requirement is to maintain close ties with the masses." Chairman Mao unequivocally assigns the top priority to the proletarian character of Party organizations, including Party committees at all levels. He attaches extremely great importance to maintaining close ties with the masses and regards this as a fundamental question in the reform of state organs because only a proletarian vanguard which maintains close ties with the masses can

persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, wage struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, oppose revisionism, restrict bourgeois rights, and fight for the great cause of socialism and communism to the end. What a sharp contrast to what the unrepentant capitalist-roader describes Party building as only opposition to the so-called "soft, lazy and disorganized"! Can't we see clearly the two antagonistic lines, one for practicing socialism and the other for practicing capitalism? In view of the fact that those who whipped up the Right Deviationist wind obliterated and challenged these instructions of Chairman Mao's and used "a few words" to tamper with and replace them, shouldn't we re-study and resolutely implement these instructions given by Chairman Mao?

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their color, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies, but must also train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution." This statement of Chairman Mao's incisively expounds the dialectical relationship between the Party's political line and its organizational line and the vital role played by cadres in the course of carrying out the Party's political line. Chairman Mao has advanced for our Party the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and laid down the basic line and policies for our Party in the historical period of socialism. To insure that this Marxist line is implemented and upheld to the end, we must, acting in compliance with the five criteria set by Chairman Mao, give constant attention to training and raising successors to the revolutionary cause in a top-to-bottom manner and everywhere, and promote outstanding elements of the proletariat to leading posts of the Party and state at all levels. The fact that those whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts are so frantic in making a fuss over the questions of cadres and leading groups fully shows that they are well aware of the importance of successors. Not only do they have a revisionist political line which runs counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, but they also have a set of organizational measures for usurping Party leadership and state power. Once they succeed, they will carry on the unfinished counter-revolutionary cause of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship, and cause the whole of China to change color. With foresight and conversant with everything, the great leader Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led this struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts. This is of tremendous immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, and building socialism. All workers,poor and lower-middle peasants, Communist Party members, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals who are unwilling to see China turn revisionist must take a firm stand, side with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and carry the great struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts through to the end!

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Continue the Revolution, Never Stop

by

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Secretary, CCP Penhsi Municipal Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "Don't rest on our laurels; let us perform new deeds of merit!" Recently, Chairman Mao again reminded us to take a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution. Chairman Mao's words are profoundly significant and give full expression to his concern and care for old cadres, showing us old cadres the way to advance. In the current struggle to strike back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, I have re-studied Chairman Mao's teachings and looked back at my past. My heart warmed, I am determined, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat without a hitch.

I joined the revolution at the early stages of the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the war years, I followed the Party fighting Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. The direction ahead was clear any my determination was firm. I always felt there was inexhaustible strength in me. However, after moving into the city, especially after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, I gradually slowed down my pace and even for a time embarked on the capitalist road. Why is it that, while I took a positive attitude toward the new democratic revolution led by the Party, I often found myself in a passive state and even committed the mistakes of capitalist roaders in the socialist revolution which is also led by the Party? Here there are many profound lessons. One lesson, which is fundamental in nature,is that after the country entered the period of socialist revolution, my thinking still, to a considerable degree, remained at the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Mentally unprepared for the socialist revolution, I lacked a deep understanding of the nature, target, task and future of the socialist revolution. Class and line struggles in the 20 years and more since the founding of the PRC, and especially the practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution, show that unless we arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and raise our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we cannot pass the test of socialist revolution.

The founding of the PRC marked the basic conclusion of the new democratic revolution and the start of the socialist revolution. To bring our thinking in line with this revolutionary turning point, at the Second Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee held on the eve of the PRC founding Chairman Mao pointed out that after the victory of the new democratic revolution, the main contradiction at home was the "contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." The task of the socialist

revolution is to solve this contradiction, to exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, thoroughly eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, transform small production, restrict bourgeois rights, dig out the soil breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and create conditions for the realization of communism. This is fundamentally different in nature from the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in the former period of the democratic revolution. If our thinking remains at the stage of democratic revolution and if we fail to see the changes in the main contradiction and in the character of the revolution, we will forget classes and class struggle and fail to understand the socialist revolution, dislike and even oppose it.

After the victory of the democratic revolution, I thought that with the three big mountains overthrown, the revolution was successful and we should have a breathing spell and live well. Thus, quite naturally I accepted Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist trash such as the so-called "a solid new democratic order." Let by Chairman Mao, the socialist transformation movements in agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce greatly educated me, causing me to feel that the revolution had not come to an end as I had originally thought. However, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, I again thought that this time I couldn't be wrong, because the establishment of the socialist system must have signified the successful consummation of the socialist revolution. At this moment, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang nonsensically alleged that "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically settled" and that the main contradiction at home "is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." I quickly fell into their trap. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, I worked with the Anshan Municipal Party Committee, and for some time I was in charge of industry. At that time, I erroneously thought that with the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" defeating the "Constitution of the Maanshan Iron and Steel Company," the problem of Party leadership and politics in command in enterprises had been basically solved and the stress should be put on the development of production. So I relaxed class struggle and did not carry out the "Anshan Constitution"; instead I followed Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist enterprise-building line, vigorously promoting "bonuses in command" and "material incentives" and leading the socialist enterprise toward the evil road. I was deeply taught one lesson after another.

In 1965, when criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, Chairman Mao pointed out, "Throughout the period of transition there are class contradictions, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the two roads, the socialist and capitalist. If we forget this basic theory and practice of our Party over the past decade and more, we will go astray." This is an absolute truth. The reason why I often failed to understand and carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line effectively and often found it easy to accept the revisionist line which opposed the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie was that I failed to see or recognize that the main contradiction in socialist society was that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and failed to see or recognize

the class and two-road struggles in socialist society. Consequently I deviated from our Party's basic theory and practice.

To doggedly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must not only understand the main contradiction in socialist society, but also further find out the principal target of the socialist revolution. In socialist society, the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes, irreconciled to their defeat, always attempt to stage a comeback. Meanwhile, due to the existence of bourgeois influence, the influence of small production and bourgeois rights, new bourgeois elements will continue to be engendered. Class struggle in society will inevitably be reflected in the Party, within which persons in power taking the capitalist road on behalf of the bourgeoisie will appear. In launching the socialist revolution, we should know where the bourgeoisie is and that there are still capitalist roaders in power within the Party. During the socialist education movement in the countryside Chairman Mao once pointed out clearly: "The main target of the present movement is those persons in power taking the capitalist road." In the May 16, 1966 "Notice" of the CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao also warned us: "Bourgeois representatives who worm their way into the Party, government, the army and various cultural circles are a batch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once the time is ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." In carrying out the socialist revolution, we must struggle against power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. Around summer last year, the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party put forward the reactionary program of "taking the three directives as the key link," whipping up a gust of Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts in an attempt to alter the Party's basic line, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This once again shows that the main danger at present is still revisionism and that capitalist roaders in power within the Party promoting revisionism in the interests of the bourgeoisie are still taking the capitalist road. We must criticize in depth this revisionist line and strike back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts.

The practical experience of China's revolution shows that a small number of revolutionaries in the period of bourgeois democratic revolution, if they pay no attention to their ideological transformation, cannot keep up with the pace of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants in the socialist revolution. Keeping their thinking in the stage of democratic revolution is likely to transform them into power holders taking the capitalist road and hence targets of the socialist revolution. This phenomenon is not strange. Lenin once pointed out: "In the course of the bourgeois democratic revolution, many joined our Party not purely because they supported our Party's proletarian program but chiefly because they saw the brilliant and resolute struggle waged by our Party for democracy. When they accepted the revolutionary democratic slogans of the proletarian political party, they did not link these slogans with the entire struggle of the socialist proletariat." ("Enlarged Meeting of the Editorial Department of Proletarian Bulletin") This is exactly true of those whose thinking remains at the stage of democratic revolution. During the period of democratic revolution, they might still partially agree to the minimum program of the proletarian political party and did some beneficial work for the revolution under the

leadership of the party. But when the period of socialist revolution set in, some of them halted in the revolution and advanced no more; they might go backward and even turn against the revolution. When the socialist revolution was deepening and when those bourgeois rights they liked were to be restricted, they would resent, hate and oppose the revolution, turn to its opposite side and become capitalist roaders representing the bourgeoisie.

When one's thinking remains at the stage of democratic revolution, this is a reflection of the bourgeois world outlook. To make our thinking follow the pace of socialism, we must arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and thoroughly transform our bourgeois world outlook in the practice of revolutionary struggle. As I remember, while I was studying in a "May 7" cadre school, I once went to a farm to take part in labor. A woman worker said to me affectionately: "Old Lo, you were once a municipal Party committee secretary, a big official. It was difficult for us ordinary workers to see you. Now, you are working side by side with us. This gives us the courage to call you Old Lo. May you never change again!" The words of this woman farm worker greatly educated me. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, as a bureaucrat, I parted company with workers and peasants, and both politically and ideologically I degenerated partially. If I did not change this attitude and work with the worker-peasant masses in revolution, I would be washed out by history. Educated by the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, I became more mindful of transforming my world outlook, restricting bourgeois rights, and overcoming the idea of being a bureaucrat. During the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I went to the Penhsi Municipal Alloy Plant to join the workers and basic-level cadres in studying theory and criticizing revisionism and in making investigations and studies and solving the problem about the line and leadership in running enterprises. After a period of on-the-spot investigations, I saw for myself the profound changes that had taken place in the factory after the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the sturdy growth of socialist new things and new forces, and the excellent situation as well as the class struggle waged under it. I then further raised my consciousness of persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, "the change in the world outlook is a fundamental change." We can't change it overnight, nor can we sit back and relax after doing so. To replace the bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook requires a long period of painful tempering. However, so long as we continue to pay attention to changing our thinking, we shall be able to advance along the road of continuous revolution without a hitch.

The current struggle to strike back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts is a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. I am determined to keep to the proletarian stand, struggle against the revisionist line under a clear-cut banner, and in struggle continue to transform my world outlook with effort. I must adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, the masses and oneself and fight for the defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the consolidation and development of the fruitful results of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

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To Combat Revisionism, It Is Necessary to Criticize Confucius

by

Kao Lu (高 路)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

At the moment the great struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is advancing in the flush of victory. This is a mass debate about the Marxist and revisionist lines. It is another major engagement between the two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In order to completely expose and repudiate the reactionary essence of the revisionist line that prevails in the Party and penetratingly unfold the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, we must continue to criticize Confucius.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao in 1974, is a round of class struggle of vital importance. It sought to resolve the basic problem of continuing the revolution and combating restoration and regression. In this round of struggle, the vast numbers of the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres took firm hold of class struggle, the key link, and energetically studied works by Marx and Lenin and by Chairman Mao. They also seriously studied the current situation and the Confucian-Legalist struggle as well as the history of class struggle as a whole. Having penetratingly brought out and repudiated the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which preach restoration and regression, they gave a forceful rebuttal to the reactionary trend of thought of trying to restore capitalism that appeared in 1972. This propelled the socialist revolution in the superstructure and struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts forward, thus promoting the flourishing development of theoretical contingents on a mass scale and consolidating and developing the great fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This round of struggle illustrates the explicit fact that to combat and prevent revisionism it is necessary to criticize Confucius penetratingly. This is because the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius serve as an important ideological weapon for revisionism. Bringing out the essential links between the revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so people will all know the reactionary and deceptive nature of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius is of great significance to our efforts to uphold the Party's basic line, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration.

However, those unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party engaged in blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, in order to counter-attack the great cultural revolution in revenge, spread everywhere strange arguments against criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Using vicious language to revile the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they vainly attempt to negate the fruits of the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. People cannot help asking: Why do these people carrying Communist Party membership cards resent and oppose the movement to criticize

Lin Piao and Confucius? After making some analysis, it is quite clear that what they pursue is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line espoused by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, a line that can be traced to the reactionary line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" preached by Confucius.

Class struggle in history and in our time tells us that those who practice restoration are bound to oppose and alter the correct line. More than 2,000 years ago, Confucius dished up a reactionary line called "restrain oneself and return to propriety" in order to oppose social reforms that would replace the slave system with the feudal system and to uphold and restore the decadent slave system as a counterweight against the Legalist line of reform. To push this reactionary line, which embodied the Confucian teaching "revive states that have been extinguished, restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and call to office those who have fallen into obscurity," he proposed "rectification of names" and used "Chou ritual" of the slave system to "put in order" the changes that had occurred in the social order. He did so in a vain attempt to get rid of all the new things that had appeared at that time and to restore the slave society's old institutions, old order and old culture. To turn back the wheel of history, all the reactionaries in history--from Chao Kao to Wang Mang to Yüan Shih-k'ai to Chiang Kai-shek--without exception patronized the Confucian shop to look for an ideological weapon. Thus, "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" became a banner for them to carry out counter-revolutionary restorationist activities, while "rectification of names" served as a big stick with which they put down the revolutionaries. Revisionism as practiced in China features the use of the reactionary notions of the bourgeoisie and the application of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to "revise" Marxism. This is true of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. And those who have blown the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts are no exception.

At the main source of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, that is, in the person of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party who put forth "taking the three directives as the key link," we have one again witnessed the resuscitation of the ghost of Confucius. When the great cultural revolution was destroying Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, he "restrained" himself and swore "not to reverse the verdict," stating he would "repent and turn over a new leaf." But once he was returned to power he immediately raised the black banner of "returning to propriety" and openly called for "restoration" and for forming a "home-going group" with the aim of counter-attacking the great cultural revolution in revenge. For the purpose of carrying out "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," he spares no effort to preach the theory of the dying out of class struggle. In addition, he dishes up the so-called "taking the three directives as the key link" to radically alter the Party's basic line and negate taking class struggle as the key link. Does he really want to "extinguish" class struggle? No. He wants to "extinguish" the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and hold fast to the bourgeois struggle against the proletariat, in an attempt to strike down the proletarian revolutionaries and boost the cause of the bourgeois restorationist forces. What he actually does is "revive states that have been extinguished, restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and call to office those

who have fallen into obscurity." They are opposed to "running schools and turning them into a tool of the proletarian dictatorship" and imposing "proletarian dictatorship" on science and technology. They do so to "revive" those bourgeois independent kingdoms that have been destroyed by the great cultural revolution. They oppose countering the revisionist line that prevailed for "17 years" and asserted that "some of the previous practices are not necessarily all wrong." Calling for "critically inheriting," they want to "restore" the Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao anti-Party cliques so they could once again pursue their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They voice objection to bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, to Chairman Mao's five requirements for fostering revolutionary successors, and to upholding the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in forming leading groups at all levels. They said, "This depends on us veterans!" Actually, they have no intention to rely on the veteran cadres to continue the revolution but want to repress those old, middle-aged and young cadres who have firmly adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They want to "restore" those unrepentant "old" capitalist roaders who were criticized during the great cultural revolution so they could once again come to power and exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. "The ascendancy of revisionism means the rise of the bourgeoisie." This is something we should always guard against.

In order to reverse the verdicts passed by the great cultural revolution, the capitalist roaders blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts have done everything possible to preach the idea that "the present is not as good as the past." They describe the excellent situation since the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius as "dark and dreary." In their eyes, all those socialist new things that have appeared since the great cultural revolution are illegal and "should be readjusted." Instead, they call for the restoration of all those revisionist trash that has been criticized by the masses. Imitating Confucius, they said: "If names are not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things; rectification of names therefore should come first!" That unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party proposed "putting in order" everything since the great cultural revolution, such as industry, agriculture, commerce, culture, education and other sectors. What is the basis of his proposed measure? He stated frankly, "Provided people say you have restored, then your job is done." This revealing remark betrayed the secret that they were engaged in restoring themselves under the pretext of putting things in order.

Unfurling the same banner in educational circles, they oppose working class leadership over the schools, object to the workers, peasants and soldiers going to college and disapprove of cultivating socialist-minded laborers with culture. They vilify those new things that appeared in the educational revolution as "improper" and view as "orthodox" the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals and the fostering of the intellectual nobility along the lines of the saying, "he who excels in learning should become an official." Their proposed measure for putting education in order is aimed at turning the school into a tool of bourgeois dictatorship.

In the sphere of science and technology, they are against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against training and recruiting scientific and technical personnel from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and against conducting scientific research with the open-door approach. They said, "Restoration is restoration, and nothing else." Their "orthodox" practice is to restore technocracy, run schools behind closed doors, give primacy to vocational work, and take the "white and expert" road. Their purpose is to bring about bourgeois domination of science and technology and turn scientific research departments into the domain for restoring capitalism.

In the field of literature and art, they fabricate rumors of every description in a vain attempt to topple proletarian leadership and reverse the verdict on the revisionist line on literature and art. Viciously attacking the revolutionary model stage production as the "blossoming of a single flower," they do their best to preach bourgeois liberalization. When the revisionists are in control of the literary and art circles and permit emperors, kings, generals, ministers, beauties and scholars as well as monsters and demons dominate the stage, their "orthodox" scheme is then complete. Their ultimate purpose is to transform the literary and art sphere into a body like the Petofi Club of Hungary and turn the sphere of literature and art into the venue in which the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and bourgeois ideas will spread unchecked.

This is also true of other spheres. Facts amply show that they are aimed at suppressing the proletarian revolutionaries, striking blows at the nascent force of the revolution, and nipping socialist new things in the bud so all kinds of work will be done "in the old way" and put on the revisionist track and then they can realize their counter-revolutionary restoration. Isn't this a copy of Confucius' "rectification of names" under new circumstances? If their attempt is successful it won't be long before the fruitful results of socialist revolution and construction will go down the drain and capitalism will be restored in China in an all-round way. How dangerous this will be!

It is by no means accidental that the revisionist line which now exists in the Party has direct ties with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, because it is deeply rooted in classes and society. Like Confucius who lived more than 2,000 years ago, the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a representative of the reactionary and declining classes in a period of social upheaval. To practice restoration and regression and oppose reform is characteristic of all reactionary and declining classes and meets their political needs.

Among the capitalist roaders in the Party, some were active during the democratic revolution. However, they were not true Marxists and were merely fellow travelers. In the revolutionary journey they have not properly transformed their world outlook. During the socialist revolution period, ideologically they have made no progress at all. They are not only indifferent to the socialist revolution but do everything possible against it. Seriously divorced from the masses, these people behave like officials and lords and use their authority to maintain and widen bourgeois rights. They are Communist Party members in name but are identified with the bourgeoisie in thought and daily life,

having thrown overboard communist ideals and emancipation of all mankind. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, they are on the side opposed to the revolution and become bourgeois representatives. Lu Hsün once said, "Those who acted pretentiously want to return to the old order, those who are pretentious want to maintain the status quo, and those who have not behaved ostentatiously want reform." What Lu Hsün remarked referred to the class distinction between the revolutionaries and the reactionaries. This distinction also exists in socialist society. "Those who acted pretentiously" and "those who are pretentious," that is, the old and new bourgeoisie and their representatives -- the capitalist roaders in the Party, desperately seek to consolidate, widen and strengthen bourgeois rights and oppose social reform. The proletariat and the revolutionary people, on the other hand, want to advance and oppose turning backward. Persisting in continuing the revolution, the proletariat is not after its own "pretentions." Instead, it seeks to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, gradually restrict bourgeois rights and bring about conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to arise anew. Eventually, it is to realize communism. From cooperativization and introduction of the people's commune to the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the contradictions between the bourgeois representatives within the Party and the proletariat and the vast numbers of the revolutionary people have become more and more acute with the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution. They react particularly strongly toward the great proletarian cultural revolution and restriction of bourgeois rights and spare no effort to resist it. They find that the great cultural revolution and restriction of bourgeois rights are most unfavorable to them. They also find that they will bear the brunt of the revolution so they are set on reversing the verdicts passed by the great cultural revolution and getting rid of all the socialist new things that restrict bourgeois rights. Their yearning for conservatism, restoration and regression perforce causes them to seek help from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Actual struggles during the socialist period show that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius still have their social basis. To make changes and remove the obstructions blocking its advance, the proletariat must continuously criticize Confucius. Since the struggle between revolution and restoration and between advance and turning backward and the struggle for and against restriction of bourgeois rights will pervade the entire historical period of socialism, the struggle between criticism of and reverence for Confucius will persist for a long period of time.

Those who practiced restoration and regression in history invariably upheld the idealist theory. Their world outlook "is characterized by a split between the subjective and the objective, and separation of knowledge from practice." This is true of Confucius. It is also true of the bourgeois representatives within the Party during the socialist period. As a downright idealist, Confucius lived in an era of great change, in which the feudal system was in the ascendant. But mentally he clung to Western Chou which practiced the slave system. What he called Tao /Way/ actually embodied the aspirations of the declining slave-owning aristocrats for restoring the slave system. He termed this yearning the divine right of kings and used it to resist the objective law governing the development of history and the revolutionary practice of the masses of the people. In his time Confucius toured various ducal states only to be driven from pillar to post. Yet he remained unyielding to the last because spiritually he was bolstered by his

idealist world outlook. By the same token, the capitalist roaders in the Party blowing the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts pursue the same subjective and idealist line of negating the objective law of society and disavowing the revolutionary practice of the masses. They are totally indifferent to the realities of sociaist society and its incessant changes, the historical tide of new things replacing old ones, and the broad masses of the people persistently taking the socialist road. Obstinately taking the stand of the new and old bourgeoisie, they regard the interests and demands of a minority of people opposed to social change as the only reality, the only standard of truth. Whatever conforms to the interests and subjective desires of these capitalist roaders is truth and whatever is not in accord with their interests and wishes is fallacy. "What does it matter if a cat is white or black as long as it catches mice." This is the philosophy they believe in. Viewing the great cultural revolution, a profound social upheaval without precedent, with the idealist world outlook, they arrive at the conclusion that "the present is not as good as the past." Because they are bolstered by this idealist theory, they call for "putting things in order" and "restoration" in the same arrogant manner Mencius once declared with a flourish of trumpets. "If it is desired that order and tranquillity be restored to the empire, who else but me can bring it about?" They are clearly aware that practicing restoration and regression is in contravention of the Party's basic program and realize that this will arouse the strong indignation and opposition of the broad masses, yet they are set on doing so. Frenziedly counteracting the objective law and resisting the revolutionary practice of the masses of the people, they repeatedly asserted: "We must have the daring and not be afraid of being struck down." "We must take heart and do it desperately." Haven't they displayed the same tenacity and frenzy in turning back the wheel of history as Confucius stubbornly held on to his own convictions in his time?

In "On Practice," Chairman Mao has said: "We oppose the diehards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking cannot keep pace with the changed objective conditions. Such thinking expresses itself in the form of Right opportunism in history. These people fail to see the fact that the struggle of opposites has advanced the objective process, and their cognition still remains in a past stage. The thinking of all diehards has such a characteristic. With their thinking divorced from social practice, they cannot stand ahead of the chariot of society and act as a guide; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag the chariot of society back or turn it in the opposite direction." These words penetratingly reveal the common characteristic of the revisionist world outlook of all diehards, including Confucius and this is of great guiding significance to our present struggle. We must vigorously study Marxist philosophy and some history of Chinese philosophy, penetratingly criticizing the idealist theory upheld by Confucius and the capitalist roaders in the Party blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. In sweeping clean the ideological influence of idealist and metaphysical theories in one's mind, we should also strive to orient our line understanding, esteem the theory of materialism and the revolutionary practice of the masses. Only by doing so can we keep pace with the advance of history in the era of socialist revolution and always serve as promoters of revolution.

In completely eliminating the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, "we must continue to exert ourselves and this is a major project along the road of bringing about revolutionary transformation in the future." All revisionists and all those who are opposed to social change are Confucius worshippers. They are all afraid of criticizing Confucius and are opposed to criticism of Confucius and seek to sabotage this effort. But all true Marxists and revolutionaries want to hold high the big banner of criticizing Confucius along the road of continuing the revolution. We must take class struggle as the key link and combine criticism of revisionism with that of Confucius so as to insure that our country will always advance along the Marxist-Leninist line indicated by Chairman Mao.

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Study Some History of Chinese Philosophy

by

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The current struggle waged by the whole Party and the people throughout the country to repel the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing in depth. In this great battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, conscientiously studying some history of Chinese philosophy in connection with studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat will help us deepen our understanding of the nature, objectives, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution and criticize thoroughly, from its ideological source, the revisionist line pushed by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Philosophy is an instrument of class struggle. Ever since the beginning of class society, the history of philosophy has been a reflection of class struggle in philosophy during various historical periods. Lenin pointed out: "One must not fail to see the partisan struggle in philosophy, a struggle which, in the last analysis, shows the tendencies and ideological systems of opposing classes in modern society. The latest philosophy is as partisan as philosophy two thousand years ago." (Materialism and Empirio-criticism) A given political line always takes a given philosophical ideology as its theoretical basis, and the process of fermentation, emergence and development of a great political change is invariably accompanied by a great philosophical debate.

The close connection between philosophical and political struggles is a characteristic that we can clearly see by leafing through the history of Chinese philosophy. The great debate on the philosophical front during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods more than two thousand years ago was not merely a purely academic debate, but rather a profound reflection of the basic antagonism between two political lines--one held by the declining slave-owning class and the other by the rising landlord class. The Confucian school, representing the interests of the declining slave-owning class whose acts of restoration it defended, frenziedly advocated in philosophy the idealist "theory of Heavenly mandate" and the transcendentalist theory of "innate knowledge" and trumpeted the theory of historical regression asserting that each generation was worse than the one before it. The Legalist school, representing the interests of the rising landlord class and seeking a basis for its reform program, conducted a tit-for-tat criticism of the reactionary Confucian philosophy, upheld materialism and the historical conception of progressive reform. At that time, the Confucian and Legalist schools competed with each other in writing books and profounding ideas, travelling among the states to study and preach, and carried on endless debates on philosophical questions. Most basically it was necessary to resolve this important question: Which is justified, restoration and regression or progress and reform? This great philosophical debate waged by the Legalist school against the Confucian school directly served the political task of replacing the slave system with the feudal system.

Chairman Mao says: "So long as classes exist, there will be as many doctrines as there are classes, and even various groups in the same class may have their different doctrines." ("On New Democracy") Until the middle period of the Han dynasty the Confucian and Legalist philosophies were doctrines of different classes; from then on, in the prolonged feudal society, they manifested themselves as doctrines of various groups in the same class. The struggle between the political line of reformers and that of diehards within the landlord class was likewise profoundly reflected in philosophy. The struggle between "Ching Kung's new learning" and the idealist learning of rationalism during the Northern Sung period vividly proved this point. The reformer Wang An-shih, to push his idea of progressive reform, put forward his theoretical program of "not fearing Heavenly portents, not following the examples of ancestors and not taking heed of what people say." Emphasizing that "even the ways of Heaven are subject to change," he bravely threw down the qauntlet at the Confucian idealist theory of Heavenly will and historical conception of restoration and regression. On the other hand, the diehard Ssuma Kuang went all out to emphasize "Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao /Way/ changeth not," and repeatedly he cried aloud that "ancestral laws must not be changed." ("Ssuma Kuang", History of Sung) The spearhead of this reactionary philosophy which advocated respect for Heaven and emulation of ancestors was directed at Wang An-shih's reform. Headed by Ssuma Kuang, the ideological representatives of the big landlord class diehards, Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I, vigorously propagated the idealist learning of reason and created public opinion in support of Ssuma Kuang's counter-attack in revenge by clamoring that "things of today must first be adjusted." (Posthumous Letters of the Ch'eng Family in Honan Vol. II) As soon as Ssuma Kuang came to power, in the name of making "adjustments," he conducted unbridled restorationist and regressive activities, "taking the restoration of ancestral laws and measures as the first task," ("Hou Fei, History of Sung") and completely reinstituted the old order of big landlord class rule. The fruits of Wang An-shih's reform were buried in only about a year's time. From then on, following the further reaction of big landlord class diehards, the idealist learning of reason /neo-Confucianism/ even more imposingly dominated the ideological realm. A concrete study of philosophical struggles between contending parties and groups in Chinese history can help us understand that the political struggle between progress and reaction is inseparable from the struggle between progressive and reactionary philosophy.

Not only did every major political change in history cause different reactions from different classes, strata and social groups at the time, but the philosophical struggle which reflected this change often lasted much longer than the political change itself. Wang An-shih's reform in Northern Sung lasted only several years, but the polemic over this reform persisted for centuries. From the bastion of the Confucian school, there was first the Posthumous Letters of the Ch'eng Brothers by Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I, which "contains slander against /Wang/ An-shih" (Ts'ai Shang-hsiang, Brief Study of the Chronological Annals of Wang Ching-kung), then Chu Hsi's Quotations from Noted Ministers of Three Dynasties, which assembled speeches by diehard conservatives attacking Wang An-shih, and finally "a countless number" of such works as Records of Things Seen and Heard, Chronicle of Events and Notebooks, which all assailed Wang An-shih's reform that had long become history. On the contrary, a number of progressive thinkers calling for reform affirmed and commended Wang An-shih's reform.

In the course of the life-and-death class struggle, a reactionary class is bound to be overthrown and eliminated by a revolutionary class--this is an objective law independent of man's will. But its ideological system will not, on that account, enter its grave quickly. A reactionary philosophical idea, even though it may be roundly criticized by progressive, revolutionary thinkers of the time, may change its appearance slightly and still be of use to a reactionary class that emerges later. As Lenin put it, "Physiologically man 'dies' naturally, but ideological and political schools will not die in this way." ("The Just Voice of French Socialists") As for the struggle between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics, it will exist even after classes are abolished in communist society, the only difference being that the social contradictions it is to reflect will be different from those in class society. Tung Chung-shu's idealist, metaphysical and theological world outlook was a product of the change of the landlord class's historical position from progress to reaction. His metaphysics of "Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao changeth not" did not vanish out of sight with his death and its criticism by Wang Ch'ung and the Yellow Turban uprising, but in the prolonged feudal society it almost became the philosophical credo of reactionary ruling classes. Chairman Mao states: "In China, there was the metaphysical thinking exemplified in the saying 'Heaven changeth not, likewise the Tao changeth not,' and it was supported by the decadent ruling classes for a long time." ("On Contradiction") Here Chairman Mao not only forcefully criticizes Tung Chung-shu's reactionary world outlook, but also profoundly expounds a law, namely, reactionary philosophical schools popping up in history were always resurrected in a new disguise in later reactionary classes, and the reactionary classes, to defend their own perverted acts, would certainly search for reactionary philosophy as a spiritual weapon from history. Therefore, to bring about revolutionary change, all progressive classes must criticize reactionary philosophies in history and eradicate their influence.

In the history of Chinese philosophy, the struggle between those opposing Confucius and those worshipping him, lasting as it did for several thousand years, gave concentrated expression to the life-and-death struggle between revolutionary classes and reformers within the landlord class on the one side and the decadent reactionary classes on the other. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that took shape in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, being an ideological system standing against revolution and progress and for restoration and regression, reflected the ideological traits of the diehards in the reactionary classes. In the pre-Ch'in period, these doctrines directly served the declining slave-owning aristocrats in opposing the rising landlord class and obstructing reforms aimed at replacing the slave system with the feudal system. After Western Han, they gradually evolved into ruling thoughts of the declining Chinese feudal society and semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. Chairman Mao says: "In those days, the ruling classes indoctrinated students with Confucian teachings and compelled the people to venerate all the trappings of Confucianism as religious dogma." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing") The comprador bourgeois, which directly served and was fed by imperialism, took the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as its credo right from the very start. The combination of national betrayal and Confucian worship constituted an important feature of this class. In the struggle against the feudal system,

a number of representatives of the national bourgeoisie fought a few rounds with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but being far from thorough-going, they quickly turned from anti-Confucian to pro-Confucian. Both the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, when they gradually lost the revolutionary character they possessed during their rising phase and turned more and more conservative and reactionary, required a kind of conservative and reactionary philosophical ideology to be their spiritual prop. No wonder that Confucius and his philosophy became so popular among reactionary classes.

To push forward history, progressive, revolutionary classes or strata always wage a persistent struggle to oppose and criticize Confucianism. Legalists of the pre-Ch'in period such as Shang Yang and Han Fei severely denounced the Confucian school represented by Confucius as "lice" and "vermin." Later, reformers within the landlord class also took heed of removing the obstacles set up by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the way of reform. And all peasant uprisings in Chinese history invariably dealt stunning blows to Confucius and the Confucian ideology and performed even more brilliant deeds of struggle. In view of the fact that chieftains of successive opportunist lines within our Party were all Confucian worshippers, Chairman Mao, while leading the Chinese revolution, has, as a rule, combined the criticism of opportunist and revisionist lines with that of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and this was true for the new democratic revolution as it is for the socialist revolution. This is an important historical experience of the two-line struggle within our Party. By seriously summing up and studying the experience of struggle between those opposing Confucius and those worshipping him in the history of Chinese philosophy, we shall be able to further understand why the chieftains of revisionist lines carrying the card of Communist Party membership must worship Confucius, believe in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and practice idealism and metaphysics. This will inspire us to carry on the struggle to oppose and criticize Confucianism on a sustained and long-term basis.

The history of Chinese philosophy also clearly shows that all reactionary classes in their declining phase usually feature eclecticism in their philosophy. From Confucius toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period to the school of Tzu Ssu and Mencius in the middle of the Warring States period, all fanatically trumpeted "the way of the golden mean" and class harmony. This was because the slave-owning class they represented was at that time already sinking fast, had no choice but to seek the help of the golden mean, and deceived the people with eclectic tactics in an attempt to do away with the revolution staged by the rising landlord class and the laboring people against the slave system. Why did eclecticism have so close a bond with declining classes? Lu Hsün put it incisively: "By the time they mouth 'golden mean,' they have lost their influence and cannot do without it." This means that the declining classes which had "lost their influence" had no choice but to practice eclecticism. The appearance of "The Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü," once described in the history of Chinese philosophy as a work embodying "Confucian, Moist, Nominalist and Legalist" ideas, represented a reactionary trend of thought bearing eclectic features. When Lü Pu-wei was editing this book toward the close of the Warring States period, the rule of Confucian thinking was already tottering, and he had

no choice but to secretly traffic in Confucian merchandise by raising the banner of "miscellaneous scholars," "taking the Confucian ideas as the main thing to be supplemented by the Taoist and Moist ideas." (General Outline of Four Major Categories of Books, Vol. 117) In essence, this was a reactionary political program pushed by eclectic means "to revive states that have been extinguished, restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and call to office people who have fallen into obscurity." The emergence of the book Huai Nan Tzu in the middle of the Han dynasty also bears this characteristic. Legalists in the early period of Western Han implemented the line of rule of law while wearing the cloak of the Huangti-Laotzu school which preached inactivity. In advocating stability, they catered to the needs of consolidating the political power of the rising landlord class. Under the situation where feudal central power was consolidated, Liu An, an escapee from the rebellion of the seven states including Wu and Ch'u, invited his house guests to edit Huai Nan Tzu, taking over the Legalist slogan of inactivity while actually "submitting everything to benevolence and righteousness." The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were used to tamper with the Legalist line and serve the remnant forces of slave-owners to create division and regression. The eclectic tactics used by the reactionary declining classes to deceive people are also inherited by the revisionists who have betrayed the proletariat. Lenin pointed out incisively: "When Marxism is changed into opportunism, passing off eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way to deceive the masses." ("The State and Revolution") Today, the unrepentant capitalist roaders fanning the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, by applying eclectic sophistry, are peddling the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces to oppose taking class struggle as the key link and to tamper with the basic line of the Party. This reflects the reactionary, declining and feeble nature of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes. Studying some history of Chinese philosophy will therefore help us see through the eclectic tactics employed by opportunists and revisionists and to unfold the struggle correctly. Since the history of philosophy and the history of class struggle it reflects have shown that both class and ideological struggles are irreconcilable, we definitely should not talk golden mean with those unrepentant capitalist roaders practicing eclecticism, but should draw a clear line of demarcation with them in political and ideological line.

Studying some history of Chinese philosophy is entirely in the interests of the current struggle. Through the philosophical struggle, we can see the essence of class struggle and understand the laws of class struggle. In the socialist society in which we live, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The great majority of people want to practice Marxism and take the socialist road, but there are also a small number of people who want to practice revisionism and take the capitalist road. Two possibilities face our society today: either we continue to advance toward communism in the socialist direction pointed out by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, or we restore capitalism. This struggle between restoration and counter-restoration is always closely connected with the struggle between the two lines in philosophy. Since the founding of the People's Republic, from "the theory of a comprehensive economic base" and "non-identity between thinking and being" to "the theory of two combining into one" and "the theory of genius," all were intended to create a theoretical basis for the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Because all

the chieftains of the revisionist lines within the Party are political swindlers and truth is not on their side, every time they launch an attack on the Party, they invariably have to seek help from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Capitalist roaders who are now still operating on this road have again followed in the footsteps of Confucius in "practicing self-restraint and returning to propriety" as they resort to eclectic tactics and advocate "taking the three directives as the key link" in an attempt to alter the Party's basic line, settle accounts with the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, and launch a wild attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. A large number of facts have shown that the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party fanning the Right deviationist wind are loyal disciples of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in ideological theory and have totally betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Like the chieftains of successive opportunist lines, they are all "characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice." In this brilliant philosophical work "On Practice," Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out the ideological characteristics of all diehards: "Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction." Aren't the unrepentant capitalist roaders fanning the Right deviationist wind such diehards? In order to turn the wheel of history backward, they have no choice but to inherit Confucius' political and ideological line, practice idealism and metaphysics, practice eclectic sophistry, and find from the philosophical arsenal of reactionary classes in history a theoretical basis for restoration and regression. To thoroughly criticize the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts from its ideological source, we must study Marxist philosophy, study some history of Chinese philosophy, consciously understand and grasp the laws governing political and ideological struggles, and take full advantage of the prevailing situation to win the victory.

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Struggle Between Two Lines in Enterprise Management

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宮效閔)

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After the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, an excellent situation of growing prosperity has appeared on China's economic front and impressive changes have taken place in the outlook of socialist enterprise management. Many industrial and mining enterprises have penetratingly criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, seriously enforced the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and developed the mass movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry." They have further strengthened the Party's leadership and established leading groups of triple combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. The mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought is developing with vigor, the "July 21" workers universities have sprung up like bamboo shoots after rain, and large groups of workers with socialist consciousness, theoretical knowledge and practical experience are growing sturdily. New progress has been made in cadres' participation in labor and workers' participation in management. All this has markedly improved the mutual relationship between one man and another and further called forth the spirit of the workers as masters; it has helped fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grass-roots units and form within the socialist enterprise a political situation in which there are both centralization and democracy, both discipline and freedom and liveliness. In the ten years since the start of the great cultural revolution, there has been a general upsurge in industrial production and vigorous development of the socialist construction cause in our country, and the reform of the enterprise management system has been one of the important causes of this.

The reform of the enterprise management system is a profound socialist revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production. Chairman Mao said long ago: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base." "Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base." Chairman Mao's incisive analysis of the dialectical relationships between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society points out a clear direction for us in which to reform the enterprise management system. Quite a number of socialist enterprises in our country were taken over from imperialist and bureaucrat capitalists or were formerly capitalist enterprises that had been transformed along socialist lines. Before the great cultural revolution, although the management system in these enterprises had been reformed many times, yet the influence of the bourgeoisie, that is, the capitalist management system, was still felt in a considerable degree. And these enterprises and

the large number of enterprises built after the founding of the People's Republic were subjected to the interference by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, were run on foreign patterns, and in different degrees accepted the revisionist enterprise management structure by putting profit in command, promoting material incentives, giving first priority to technology, allowing experts run the plants and imposing "supervision, restriction and coercion" on workers, whose initiatve and enthusiasm were gravely limited as a result. In order to continue to improve the socialist relations of production and to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots unit, it is absolutely necessary to take persistently class struggle as the key link in socialist enterprises, to criticize in depth the revisionist line in operating enterprises, and to gradually reform those parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base as well as those parts of the relations of production which do not suit the developing productive forces. Successive socialist revolution movements launched over the past 20 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic were actually aimed at carrying out adjustments in varying degrees in the relations of production and the superstructure of socialist enterprises. Particularly the great proletarian cultural revolution penetratingly criticized the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, set off serious struggle-criticism-transformation in enterprises, and led to the further reform of those parts of the superstructure and the relations of production that were incompatible with the economic base and the productive forces, thereby accelerating the rapid development of the cause of socialist construction as a whole.

In assessing this revolution in enterprise management system as in assessing any other revolutionary change, different classes invariably adopt different attitudes. While the proletariat is overwhelmed with joy and thinks that the revolution is excellent, the bourgeoisie is seized with panic and yells that it is "a terrible mess." Since last year, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party have proposed a revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," opposed taking class struggle as the key link, putting proletarian politics in command of economics and the principles of the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and inveighed against struggle-criticism-transformation in enterprise management. This is a striking manifestation of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Chairman Mao points out: Management is also socialist education. This means that the problem of management is also a problem of class struggle. If we are to further implement the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and run our socialist enterprises in a practical and satisfactory manner, we must take class struggle as the key link, seriously sum up the experience of enterprise management, especially the new experience since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, further criticize the revisionist line on operating enterprises, and carry struggle-criticism-transformation in enterprise management through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The crucial factor as to whether socialist enterprises can be operated successfully is which class holds the power of leadership and what kind of line is followed.

At the First Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers." Before the great cultural revolution, leaders in quite a number of enterprises followed that line of Liu Shao-ch'i, and the problem of leadership in enterprises was actually not resolved. Since the great cultural revolution, this situation has begun to change. Many enterprises have followed Chairman Mao's teachings and, through struggle-criticism-transformation, established leading groups of three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. It is gratifying that, apart from old cadres who, steeled by the great cultural revolution, have raised their consciousness of the line struggle, a large number of old workers and young worker cadres with relatively high consciousness and practical experience have joined the leading groups of enterprises. United together, old and new cadres are seriously reading and studying, carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticizing the revisionist line, strengthening Party leadership, maintaining close ties with the masses, persisting in the policy of independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and rejuvenation through self-reliance, grasping revolution and promoting production. This has brought about a vigorous new outlook in all fields of work in their socialist enterprises. The changes on the question of leadership are the victorious achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and are of tremendous significance to the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base. To be sure, this decidedly does not mean that these enterprises have no more class struggle. Class struggle still exists, and the proletarian leadership in enterprises can be consolidated only in class struggle. As for those enterprises where leadership is still not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers, it is all the more necessary to grasp class struggle firmly and solve the problem of leadership there. The practice of struggle tells us that which class holds the leadership and what kind of line is followed have a decisive effect on the developmental orientation of enterprises. Unless leadership is firmly in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers and the line is correct it will be impossible to arouse the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses or to make a success of the production struggle and scientific experiment, and we may even go astray. Aren't such examples lacking before the great cultural revolution?

This change in enterprise management naturally irritates the bourgeoisie and its representatives. They describe the situation of enterprise management as dark and gloomy and the new leading groups of three-in-one combination as good for nothing. Hoisting the banner of "consolidation," they want to wipe out the massive new forces at one stroke. Meanwhile, without making class analysis, they call for the establishment of what they call "powerful, daring and capable leading groups," and declare that they want to find those people "who are not afraid to be struck down as individuals." What they mean by "daring,""powerful", "not afraid to be struck down," etc., is that they want to find those people who dare to practice revisionism, dare to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution and dare to promote restoration and regression in a vain attempt to recapture the power of leadership from the proletariat so that they may push the revisionist line and restore capitalism.

For successful management of socialist enterprises, we must, instead of paying lip service to it, truly recognize the masses of workers as masters in all management work of enterprises, have faith in and rely on them. Marxists have all along ardently praised the role of the masses of people in history and stressed the need to rely on the broad masses in doing all kinds of work well. As early as the eve of the nationwide liberation Chairman Mao had pointed out: In struggle in cities "we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class." In the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," Chairman Mao went further and laid down such fundamental principles as workers' participation in management and the solution of various problems in factories in the form of three-in-one combination with the participation of workers, leading cadres and technical personnel. However, before the great cultural revolution, in certain enterprises, owing to the interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, some cadres did not really treat workers as masters but laid down the stipulation that "laws must be set by the leadership, executed by the managerial personnel, and observed by workers." The result was to greatly repress the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of workers. Since the great cultural revolution started, this situation has begun to change. Many industrial and mining enterprises have criticized the revisionist line on running enterprises, and the workers too have incessantly raised their political consciousness in struggle and created a great deal of new experience of workers' participation in management under Party leadership, For example: workers not only participate in all management work of shifts and teams but also select mass representatives who are not detached from production to participate in the leading groups of three-in-one combination at various levels so as to directly take part in the leadership of enterprises; three-in-one small groups are organized in various forms to invite the workers to participate in management in respect to production, technology, planning and finance; problems arising out of production are solved by organizing workers' investigation teams to carry out investigation and make recommendations for solution of these problems; through the application of such forms as informal meetings, big-character posters and short commentaries, workers are mobilized to make criticism in regard to problems which exist in respect to the execution of the line and policies by the enterprise leadership, to carry out effective revolutionary supervision; and so on and so forth. As the masses of workers have exercised the power as masters and as this has benefited the thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the leadership of the Party has also grown stronger.

However, the unrepentant capitalist roaders assail the workers for exercising the power as masters, nonsensically accusing them of creating "confusion" in the management of enterprises. A class analysis must be made of this word "confusion." What to the landlord and bourgeois classes is "confusion" is to the revolutionary people normal order. Some people once said to Lenin: A normal order must be established after the revolution. Lenin replied: It would be too bad if those who want to be revolutionaries forget that the revolutionary order is the most normal order in history. Things are exactly like this. By seriously studying theory, consciously acting as masters, mounting the stage of the superstructure and actively participating in struggle-criticism-transformation, the masses of workers have indeed upset that huge management structure of the revisionist type and the method of managing enterprises by relying on a few people; by setting up

revolutionary committees of three-in-one combination and exercising the administrative power in factories and mines under Party leadership, they have also upset the past revisionist "one-director system" and "management of plants by experts" under which "the director assumes command, and the four chiefs run the house." Such "confusion" to the proletariat is the most normal order. With the revisionist order thrown into confusion, the socialist order is established and the dictatorship of the proletariat strengthened. This is a brilliant display of the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" during the great cultural revolution, a great creation of the masses of workers, and a splendid chapter in the history of socialist revolution and construction in our country. If you are a man who has established the revolutionary viewpoint, seeing this must certainly give you a sense of joy that you have never had before.

After the Russian October Socialist Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "One of the most important tasks at present, perhaps the most important task, is to promote as extensively as possible the pioneering spirit displayed by the workers and all exploited laborers in creative organizational work. We must at all costs smash this preposterous, absurd, mean, narrow-minded hackeyned bias that it seems only the so-called 'upper-level class,' only the wealthy people or people who have received rich class education are capable of managing the state and managing organized construction in socialist society." The unrepentant capitalist roaders are precisely people who cling to this preposterous, absurd, mean and narrow-minded hackeyned bias. In their eyes, only those "experts," "insiders," and "people who have received rich class education" are capable of managing enterprises, and the workers have no right to ask any question at all. Actually, they still want to reinstitute the "one-director system" and "management of factories by experts" that had been criticized many times; they want to rely on the minority to rule over the majority and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in enterprises.

"You don't want rules and regulations!" Not at all. What we do not want are merely revisionist rules and regulations. As for those rules and regulations which help arouse the socialist enthusiasm of workers and develop production, we not only want to have them, but we also want to continuously perfect them. Rules and regulations belong to the superstructure. The masses of workers are masters of the state and their enterprises, and rules and regulations which reflect the socialist relations of production must be conducive to promoting the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of workers. Why is it that some rules and regulations were criticized and thrown overboard by the worker masses during the great cultural revolution? The basis reason is that these rules and regulations did not meet the needs of the economic base and the developing productive forces. Some of them "supervise, restrict, and coerce" the workers and limited their socialist enthusiasm; some were separated from practice and were so complicated that they could not be remembered or executed by the workers; and although some basically accorded with production practice, they were unacceptable to the masses because the workers were not fully mobilized nor depended on in formulating and executing these regulations. The Shanghai No. 33 Cotton Spinning Mill had the following experience in reforming its rules and regulations. In order to raise the operating technical level of fine yarn

loom operators, they established a technical determination system. However, before the great cultural revolution, this system, which was to benefit production, was abused owing to the revisionist "supervision, restriction, and coercion." Frequently, a meter in hand, the shift leader on duty or a technician measured the work of loom operators overtly and covertly or even "secretly." Where their work did not come up to standard, the workers' wages or bonuses would be deducted. "When the meter clicks, our heart beats a hundred times," recalled the workers, who hated this system more than anything else. During the great cultural revolution, this system was of course dumped by the masses. In the course of struggle-criticism-transformation, the workers, after criticizing revisionism and summing up the experience, concluded that technical determination was still needed. The workers opposed it at that time because it was used to impose "supervision, restriction, and coercion" on workers, thereby dampening the workers' enthusiasm, causing antagonism between the managerial personnel and the workers and undermining the socialist relations between one man and another. After deliberations, the deduction of wages and bonuses was abolished and a new technical determination system instituted, much to the delight of the workers. This experience proves that a system, to benefit production, must first of all be advantageous to mobilizing the sociaist enthusiasm of the masses of workers. This is an important yardstick for judging whether the rules and regulations are rational or not. Provided that rules and regulations are based on the practical experience of the masses, reflect the laws of production technology and are drawn up and executed by relying on the masses, they will certainly call forth the enthusiasm of the workers and advance the development of production. In fact, now that the masses have raised their consciousness, they have also shown a higher initiative in observing rational rules and regulations. But those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts are blind to all this; confusing right and wrong, black and white, they arbitrarily insist that "there are basically no rules and regulations to speak of," and want to have an "adjustment." Their "adjustment" is aimed at doing away with the revolutionary order of new socialist things and rational rules and regulations, going back to that revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and retreating even farther. This precisely tells us by negative example that abolishing the old rules and regulations and establishing new ones is a class struggle. And the reason why the bourgeoisie and its representatives cling to the old rules and regulations is that they are favorable to restoring capitalism; the reason why they place every conceivable obstacle in the way of the reform of rules and regulations is that the new rules and regulations correctly reflect the aspirations and demands of the proletariat and are favorable to the consolidation of the socialist relations of production and to the fulfillment of the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots units.

In socialist enterprises, what do we count on in arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of workers? Chairman Mao has all along taught us: "Political work is the lifeline of all economic work." For the past more than 20 years after the liberation, we have counted on strengthening the Party's ideo-political work and armed the masses of workers with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in incessantly raising their consciousness of class and line struggles, bringing out their revolutionary initiative and turning it into a huge material force for promoting both revolution and production. On the contrary, the chieftains of the revisionist line have always had a blind faith in material incentives, put profit in

command, and opposed putting proletarian politics in command. Since the founding of the People's Republic, a recurrent struggle has been carried out around this question. The current struggle is but a continuation of the protracted class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Those who fanned the Right deviasionist wind to reverse verdicts particularly like material incentive because it is a prescription for the revisionist management of enterprises, something they must need in restoring capitalism. Our enterprises are socialist enterprises and under no circumstances must they be run by revisionist methods. Practice proves that material incentive can only stimulate individualist enthusiasm, undermine the unity among workers and aid the growth of the bourgeois ill wind, and definitely cannot call forth what we call socialist enthusiasm. If we accept their revisionist methods, we cannot push production forward, or even if we do push it forward for the time being, socialist enterprises will go astray and even face the danger of degeneration. The fact that the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party are advocating material incentive precisely shows that they are stubbornly taking the bourgeois stand, treating the masses of workers as slaves of capital and labor power as a commodity. In their eyes, only by using money as bait will it be possible to stimulate people to do more work. Can our socialist enterprises accept such capitalist principles built on the foundation of bourgeois egoism?

It must be seen that our country at present still practices a commodity system and exchange through money, that bourgeois rights still exist to a serious extent in the mutual relationships between people and still hold the dominating position in the field of distribution, and that there is still a definite market for practicing material incentive and putting bonuses in command. Because of this, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, penetratingly criticize revisionism, persevere in carrying out socialist and communist ideological education among the broad masses, criticize the ideas of bourgeois rights, and restrict these rights. Even among the masses of workers, some still have certain vestiges of mercenary concepts, and it must be recognized that this is exactly a sign that the old traditional concepts spread by the exploiting classes for a long time have not been totally eliminated, a consequence of the corruption of workers' thinking by the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Hence, there is a greater need for us to ardently carry out penetrating and meticulous ideological work, raise their class consciousness and help them quickly join the ranks of the advanced. Only by doing so can we bring the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of workers into full play. Revisionist trash such as material incentive must be criticized. If we slacken our criticism of revisionism, these things are likely to come back and then, not only will they corrupt the workers' thinking but they will surely disintegrate the socialist economic base and sabotage the developing productive forces.

In the last analysis, the struggle between the two lines on the question of enterprise management is a struggle over whether to practice Marxism or revisionism and whether to adhere to the socialist orientation or restore capitalism. Chairman Mao teaches us in these words: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link!' Stability and unity do not

mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." We must seriously study this important directive of Chairman Mao's, firmly grasp class struggle, the key link, and criticize in depth the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. We must seriously sum up the experience of enterprise management since the great cultural revolution, do a better job in struggle-criticism-transformation, and hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. "Although there are almost everywhere opportunists who want to stem the tide, the tide cannot be resisted. Socialism is victoriously advancing everywhere, leaving behind it all stumbling blocks." Similarly, by practicing revisionism and promoting restoration and regression, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party cannot stop the historical tide of socialism from continuing to surge forward.

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The Ghost of Confucius and the Strange Talk in Educational Circles

by

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The struggle to criticize the revisionist line and to strike back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts is developing in breadth and depth in educational, scientific-technical, and literary and art circles at present. As the struggle deepens, one can see more clearly than ever that all sorts of strange notions accompanying the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts are permeated by a sinister revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," and the ghost of Confucius is loitering about.

Living in the late Spring and Autumn period marked by the momentous change from the slave to the feudal system in our country, Confucius was seized with anxieties and panic in face of the situation where "rites collapse and music is ruined." Dismissing all social changes at that time as "unlawful," he believed that from the political to the educational system, and from people's spirit of learning to their moral quality, "one generation is worse than the generation preceding it." In order to realize his reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," Confucius went on lecture tours everywhere, going into politics and establishing a school as well as revising odes and rites in opposition to the disturbances by slaves and the "transgression" of the newly rising landlord class and to all social reforms including that in education. Today, unrepentant capitalist roaders who concocted all sorts of absurd arguments, rejecting the excellent situation marked by the flourishing development of the educational revolution since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, are singing loudly the tune that "the present is not as good as the past." Issuing directives and making reports everywhere, they cry aloud that "since the start of the cultural revolution, nothing has been properly settled about the educational revolution," and therefore, the direction has to be "reversed." They oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in all aspects ranging from the objectives of training to the content and methods of teaching in schools. They vainly attempt to pull back the chariot of the proletarian revolution in education and turn it in the old direction of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and to have capitalism restored. Let us see the striking similarities between their words and deeds and those of Confucius in his day!

I.

As an instrument for one class to exercise dictatorship over another, education demonstrates its role through training personnel for a given class. That is why the advocates of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, when trying to change the direction of the educational revolution, first do their best to distort the proletarian goal of training. To this end, they oppose criticism of the "study to become an official" theory and bring out once more the rotten stuff from the Confucian shop that "he who excels in learning becomes an official."

"He who excels in learning becomes an official" is a slogan advanced by Tzu Hsia, Confucius' beloved disciple, a slogan which generalizes in a concentrated manner Confucius' objectives of establishing a school. As a teacher, Confucius set himself the task of training bureaucrats proficient in the rites of Chou for the slave-owning nobles. Both he and his disciples looked upon studying to become an official as something sacred and inviolable. Tzu Lu said: "Not to take office is not righteous" ("Wei Tzu," Confucian Analects), which means that it was unreasonable if a scholar did not become an official. Mencius remarked: "A scholar's being in office is like the plowing of a farmer" ("T'eng Wen Kung," Mencius), which means that for a scholar to become an official was as logical as for a peasant to till the land. They were firmly opposed to scholars becoming laborers, and accused anyone who thought and did so of committing the punishable crime of upsetting the class distinctions between "superior men" and "mean men." In a word, studying was the gateway to officialdom and the school was a temple for training "superior men" who exercised their minds. Such were the orientation and road followed by Confucius in running a school.

The ultimate goal of the Confucian shop in carefully building this "ladder" by which "one who excels in learning becomes an official" was not merely to hunt for personal fame and gain, but to enable Confucianists to join the ranks of rulers, to push the Confucian line of restoring the old order and returning to the past with the help of the state machine in order to safeguard the declining and increasingly decadent slave system and to avert the danger of the entire slave-owning class being overthrown. This intention was stated clearly by Confucius when he said "if anyone employs me, may I not make an eastern Chou?" ("Yang Huo," Confucian Analects) This was exactly what some of his students who advocated "the student, having completed his learning, should apply himself to be an officer," did after they had taken office. For instance, Tzu Lu, whom Confucius regarded as a "distinguished student" in "political science," went to the state of Lu to become the "chief minister" of Lord Chi, a newly rising landowner. Actually, he was a hidden traitor who weakened the newly emerging forces in the state of Lu by creating the incident of "destruction of three cities." Another "distinguished student" in "literature," Tzu Hsia, while serving as teacher of Marquis Wei Wen in the state of Wei, controlled the government behind the scenes. He let the old noble Wei Ch'eng Tzu replace the Legalist Li Kuei as prime minister of Wei, causing Li's reform to fail halfway. The acts of Confucius and his disciples fully show that the essence of "he who excels in learning becomes an official" was to "return to propriety." Seeing this, Han Fei warned the newly emerging feudal rulers against the danger of their collapse if they employed these Confucian scholars who climbed up through the ladder of "he who excels in learning becomes an official" to important positions.

For several thousand years, all reactionary ruling classes consistently persisted in this road of "he who excels in learning becomes an official," regarding studying as a ladder for one to climb into a ruler's position and turning schools into training centers for "rulers" and "mental laborers" of the exploiting classes. Education became a weapon for imposing dictatorship over the laboring masses. Today, the proletariat must overthrow this historical old verdict. Chairman Mao's educational policy to enables one who receives an education to "become a worker with both socialist consciousness

and culture" and his directive that "students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience and should go back to production after a few years of schooling" are designed to dismantle the "ladder" of "he who excels in learning becomes an official" and to make the most thorough break with the traditional concepts embodied in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. A series of new things that have emerged on the educational front during the great cultural revolution--for instance, educated youths going to mountainous and rural areas, students coming from and going back to communes, the establishment of a large number of "July 21" workers universities, etc.--were born of the concrete application of this brilliant idea of Chairman Mao's. However, those who blow the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts just cannot bring themselves to like these new socialist things of far-reaching historical significance, nor can they bring themselves to agree to breaking the "ladder" leading to officialdom through book reading. They say boisteriously: "What are we running universities for if we do not raise cadres?" "If schools are only to bring up workers and peasants, then schools no longer exist." Such strange talk indicates clearly that by so adamantly opposing Chairman Mao's "July 21 directive" as regards the goal of training in schools and opposing the Party's educational policy, they are still determined to keep to the road of the Confucian shop that "he who excels in learning becomes an official," and try all their very best to preserve this "ladder" that leads to officialdom through reading in order to expand bourgeois rights and the three major differences and to foster a social basis for the restoration of capitalism. For this reason, the proletariat cannot allow them to do what they please, and to do so would be to concede to the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes, follow the Soviet Union in turning revisionist, and invite the danger of extinction of the Party and state.

II.

To execute a given educational policy, the content of teaching must be made compatible with it. And a given content of teaching must serve the materialization of a given goal of training. In order to raise "benevolent men" and "virtuous men" who "stick to the good ways till death," Confucius took odes, official documents, rites and music as teaching material and indoctrinated young people with the ideology and culture of the slave-owning class. Meanwhile, Confucius dismissed the reformist ideas appearing at that time as heretic and evil doctrines and forbade students to come into contact with them. In the Confucian shop, the content of teaching was without practical knowledge and techniques. Tzu Hsia once clearly stated that doing manual work was not what "men of virtue" should devote themselves to. When Fan Ch'ih requested permission to study agriculture, he was denounced by Confucius as a "mean man." When Duke Wei Ling sought advice from Confucius about military affairs, he was flatly turned down. In short, in the eyes of Confucius, from studying reformist politics to studying practical knowledge and techniques, all was illegal and impermissible. Because of this, the Confucian school produced an abundance not only of reactionary elements but also of men without practical learning. Though they were known as "scholars," they were actually good for nothing.

Such reactionary ideas on education as expounded by Confucius were profoundly criticized by Chairman Mao as early as the 1930's, when he pointed out explicitly: "Young people in ancient China who studied under the sages not only did not study revolutionary theories but also did not do labor."

This, hitting the nail on the head, exposed the essence of the content of teaching of the Confucian shop. Right at the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao stated in his "May 7 directive": "For students too, they should take study as the main task and learn other things; in other words, they should study not only culture but also industry, agriculture and military affairs, and criticize the bourgeoisie." This directive included the study of practical knowledge of class and production struggles in the content of teaching, and this was not only a departure from the traditions of the Confucian shop but also a great tide against the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist content of teaching promoted by Liu Shao-ch'i. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, both teachers and students, following Chairman Mao's "May 7 directive," have practiced open-door education, organically combining the study of culture with the study of industry, agriculture and military affairs as well as with the criticism of the bourgeoisie. They have raised their consciousness of class and line struggles, increased their abilities, and reaped solid fruits. However, those who put forward strange notions are blind and deaf to all this, alleging that "the 'three studies' have gone too far." In fact, playing Confucius' old tricks, they want to exclude the study of industry, agriculture and military affairs from teaching. In their eyes, unless this is done, we would "omit the study of culture." What they mean by "study of culture" is merely an excuse to oppose teaching reform.

What is culture? What kind of culture do people with strange notions want?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "A definite culture (as an ideology) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society." All culture "belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." This shows that in class society there is no culture that stands above classes and politics. The book Confucian Analects mentions "study of culture" a number of times, but "study of culture" as meant by Confucius refers to study of codes of the declining slave system with rites as the kernel. Therefore, Confucius' "teaching in culture" was also "teaching in rites." And "rites" refer to the granting of fiefs, class distinctions, hereditary and other institutions in the Yin and Chou slave society. "Rites" were a tool for the slave-owning nobles "to govern the state, rule the community, put people in different categories, and benefit their own descendants." (Tso Commentary: 11th year of Duke Yin) Confucius regarded "study of rites" as a basic measure for raising the next generation of the slave-owning class. He once said to his son: "Those who do not study rites cannot establish themselves." ("Chi Shih, Confucian Analects) He held the belief that those who did not study the rites of Chou could not firmly take the stand of the slave-owning class. Repeatedly he stressed that one must not go against the rites in any slightest way. He said: "Look not at what is contrary to rites; listen not to what is contrary to rites; speak not what is contrary to rites; make no movement which is contrary to rites." ("Yen Yüan," Confucian Analects) He asked people to obey the "rites" and not to depart from them a single step. The most basic requirement he imposed on his students was not to "go against the rites." The reason why Yen Yüan was commended and praised by Confucius again and again was that he "obeys the rites as if he were stupid." ("Wei Cheng, Confucian Analects). On the other hand, the politically more capable Jan Ch'iu was threatened expulsion by Confucius because he "goes against the rites" by assisting Lord Chi in developing the

feudal economy and making "Lord Chi richer than the Duke of Chou." ("Hsien Chin," Confucian Analects) It can be seen that Confucius' "teaching in rites" was nothing but a rope with which to strangle the revolutionary spirit of young people. It was this teaching of rites that Confucius attempted to use to raise faithful lackeys to safeguard the slave system.

Today, those who advance absurd arguments to stir up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts go out of their way to stress "study of culture." However, on the one hand, they vilify participation in class struggle and study of revolutionary theories as "politics overshadowing vocational work," and on the other, they set study of culture against that of industry, agriculture and military affairs, clamoring that "three studies" has affected "study of culture." Since they negate the theoretical knowledge of revolution and reject lively practical knowledge, the "culture" they want to study can only be feudal, bourgeois and revisionist scrap, reactionary culture that can only harm our students and undermine our young people. Studying such culture can only strangle the vigorous revolutionary spirit of young people, causing them to be more stupid and more revisionist-minded. Therefore, what the cookers of strange notions term "study of culture" is basically different from "study of culture" defined in Chairman Mao's "May 7 directive," but is scarcely different from "study of culture" as defined by Confucius. It can be seen that the difference between us and the cookers of strange notions on the question of content of teaching is decidedly not a controversy over whether it is necessary to study culture, but a principled difference over the use of the ideological and political line of which class to educate young people. It is a difference that must be made clear through debate in order to eradicate the lingering influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

III.

Methods of teaching which are consistent with a given content of teaching similarly are geared to a given educational line and policy. When Confucius indoctrinated his disciples with such political and moral tenets as propriety, righteousness, filial piety and brotherhood, he was extremely mindful of methods. Today, the cookers of strange notions, in order to reverse the orientation of the educational revolution and oppose reform of old methods of teaching, allege that "the past line was wrong, but it does not mean that all methods were wrong." In effect, they want to restore a whole set of old methods of teaching which separate knowledge from practice and the subjective from the objective.

Are there really "correct methods" under a "wrong line" in the world? Marxism tells us that methodology is identified with world outlook and that given methods are always geared to definite lines. Take Confucius for example. His methods were in no way separated from his political program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and transcendentalist line of knowledge. For instance, the "famous maxim of learning"--"those who study but do not think are puzzled and those who think but do not study are useless"--is, in plain truth, merely an idealist method of self-cultivation aimed at raising restorationists.

"Study" as Confucius called it was merely confined to learning by rote, to dwelling on ancient documents and codes formulated by "sages" who were "born with innate knowledge." Once, when Tzu Lu asked a young man

to go to Fei city to take up a practical job, Confucius was furious and denounced Tzu Lu by saying: "You ruin that young man." Tzu Lu retorted: "There he can work with the people and the government. Why should he be required to read alone?" Dumbfounded, Confucius could do nothing but scold Tzu Lu for being tricky. (See "Hsien Chin, Confucian Analects) This shows that in the view of Confucius, coming into contact with reality was no study, and only people who, like Tzu Chang, wrote the tenets of the ancient sages on their belts and read and recited them all day long could win from Confucius the honor of "a diligent student."

In the Confucian shop, the so-called "think" did not mean a process of remodelling of perceptual material acquired from the objective external world, nor did it mean rational knowledge correctly reflecting the objective reality. Rather, it was an above-perceptual, idealist subjective understanding, requiring one to use the rites of Chou as a yardstick to constantly "examine oneself," "reflect on oneself" and "reflect on oneself thrice a day." In short, Confucius' "study" meant nothing but memorizing Confucian canon rigidly; and Confucius' "think" was thinking of one's errors behind closed doors.

Today, on the conception of study and knowledge, the cookers of strange notions adamantly persist in Confucius' idealist line. They oppose student participation in the practice of the three major revolutionary movements and smear open-door education as "practice--practice--practice." They want to reject and abolish practice and attempt to put to use again Confucius' methods of "study and think" and "think and study," so that students will study behind closed doors and, going from theory to theory and concept to concept, sink into the quagmire of idealism and metaphysics.

What is knowledge? How can one study knowledge? Dialectical materialism holds that since mankind entered class society, there have been two major kinds of knowledge, that is, knowledge of class struggle and knowledge of production struggle, and philosophy is the generalization and summation of knowledge about nature and society. To study and master knowledge in these fields, one cannot depart a little bit from the practice of the three major revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Therefore, the Marxist theory of knowledge "rejects all erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice and cause separation of knowledge from practice." But the old methods of teaching are basically characterized by the "separation of theory from practice" and "the entire dislocation of books from practice in life." This attribute is the ideological attribute of all declining classes, and it is also the ideological attribute of all opportunists and revisionists. This identity in lines of knowledge makes for identity in the methodology of the trumpeters of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts with that of Confucius. And such methods of teaching characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective and separation of knowledge from practice have always served the training of exploiters and oppressors. By these methods, Confucius brought up a group of parasites who "eat without farming and wear with knitting," who "do not apply their strength when the state is at peace nor put on armor when it is in danger." ("Outer Discussion on the Left, Part I, Han Fei Tzu) These men did not engage in farming nor go to war, but made their living as roving politicians, "earning their bread and clothing by deceiving the people in the name of ancient kings." ("The Effects of Confucianism, Hsün Tzu) The laboring people in those days already condemned these people as people who "do not exercise their limbs nor are

able to distinguish between five kinds of cereals." It can be seen that particular methods of teaching are determined by definite educational lines. That is why Chairman Mao, while criticizing the old educational system, many times severely criticized the old methods of teaching and linked the reform of the old policies and methods of teaching with the reform of the old educational system, and regarded this as "an extremely vital task of the great proletarian cultural revolution." However, running counter to these teachings of Chairman Mao's, the cookers of strange notions have again and again sang the praises of the old methods of teaching, and worried that these things which undermine human talent would go out of existence, they ask people to follow them closely. They are insincere when they say the past "line was wrong," but they are very sincere when they say that the past "methods might not necessarily be all wrong." In essence, by restoring the old methods of teaching of "three separations" and "three centers," they seek to restore the old educational system whereby schools would be dominated once more by bourgeois intellectuals.

IV.

Class and line struggles both yesterday and today have more than once demonstrated with facts that the educational sphere has always been an important battleground of contention between the revolutionary and reactionary classes. Confucius was "rejected in Ch'i, expelled from Sung and Wei, and stranded in a place between Ch'en and Ts'ai," and was no better than "a stray dog." ("Confucius, Historical Records) But although he met with political setbacks everywhere, he still "went on talking, reciting and singing." He clung to education and ran his private school dismally. By so doing, he was trying his best to use the old traditions of the slave system of Yin and Chou to gain a certain superior position in this sphere in order to attain his aim of restoring the ways of King Wen and King Wu and Duke Chou. Today, under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the landlord and bourgeois classes are subject to dictatorship, and after the great proletarian cultural revolution, in particular, the proletariat has intensified its overall dictatorship in the area of the superstructure. Education, as a "hereditary domain" occupied by the exploiting classes for a long time, is being transformed into a tool of proletarian dictatorship. However, though overthrown, the landlord and bourgeois classes will never withdraw from this position willingly but will vainly attempt to use it as a bridgehead for restoring capitalism. The unrepentant capitalist roaders, as their agents in the Party, stir up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts in educational circles, not because they are truly "interested" in the educational cause but because they seek to open a gap here in order to overthrow the decisions of the great proletarian cultural revolution as a whole, practice "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," turn back the wheel of history, and pull socialist new China back to the old road of semi-colonial, semi-feudal China. Therefore, our struggle with the unrepentant capitalist roaders is not merely a great debate on how to administer education, but a life-and-death battle between two classes, two roads and two lines, a matter of prime importance bearing on the destiny and future of the Party and state.

From the performances of capitalist roaders stirring up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, we also can see unmistakably that they are out-and-out Confucius worshippers. Lu Hsün once said: "Worshipping Confucius, honoring Confucianism, studying nothing but the canon, and returning to the past--all this has gone on for a long time." ("14 Years of 'Canon Reading'") The fact is precisely so. Speaking of the history of the two-line struggle within our Party, from Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, whoever practiced opportunism and revisionism was invariably a faithful disciple of Confucius. The reason is that like Confucius, they represented the decadent and declining classes, had common reactionary political demands and a common reactionary ideological basis. Since truth was not in their hands, they had nothing decent to show. They could only prostrate themselves before the feet of Confucius and from the Confucian doctrines sought their counter-revolutionary theoretical basis, "defending today's dirty acts with the dirty acts of yesterday." To make revolution, we must criticize Confucius, and we must do the same in combating revisionism. This is an important historical experience. Today, while we are criticizing the strange notions and hitting back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, we must also continue to make in-depth criticism of Confucius. Only thus can we dig out the ideological and historical roots of the strange notions, further discern the reactionary essence of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, and defend and develop the fruits of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"The end of the battle is still not in sight, and the old scores will continue to be used." (Lu Hsün, "A False Declaration of Freedom - Postcript") As long as classes and class struggle exist, the old drama of worshipping Confucius and restoring the old order will still be enacted. Therefore, we must not stop our struggle to criticize Confucius and his disciples. More than two thousand years ago, Confucius, who called for "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," was already discredited and became a man to be condemned perpetually. Today, those who step into the shoes of Confucius in moving against the historical current will not have a good end. The victorious march of the proletarian revolutionary cause cannot be halted by any force. Let us promote the fearless revolutionary spirit of "clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas," deal head-on blows to the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, continue the struggle against Confucius in depth, and make new contributions to combating and preventing revisionism and to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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Strengthen Leadership Over the Great Debate on the Educational Revolution

by

Hung Kuang-ssu (洪广思)

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At present, the revolutionary great debate to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing vigorously and advancing through the breaking waves. The revolution is still growing and it is bound to produce repercussions on the whole nation. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The leadership must stand at the forefront of a movement and must not fall behind it." Strengthening Party committee leadership over the movement at all levels on the educational front is a fundamental guarantee for continuing to guide the great debate to go more deeply and to achieve victory in this struggle.

Whether or not we can lead this struggle well hinges, first of all, on how we understand it. We must seriously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, have a deep understanding of the relevant arrangements made by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, study the experience of Tsinghua University in unfolding the great debate on educational revolution, be clear about the essence, significance and objectives of this great debate, and fully comprehend the seriousness and necessity of this struggle.

This struggle on the educational front is an acute one between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the two lines, Marxist and revisionist. The edge of the struggle is pointed at unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party. Those who speak up for the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts shout out their slogans of "concern for education" and "raising the quality of education" as though the debate were only a question of education when, in fact, this is not the case at all. Their spearhead of attack is directed at Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee; they want to overthrow the decisions of the great proletarian cultural revolution and settle account with it; they want to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and restore the capitalist dictatorship. Only when we grasp this essential question can we fully understand that this is a fierce class struggle which is related to the fate and future of our Party and state. Chairman Mao points out: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." But they run counter to this and attack proletarian politics in command as "politics getting the better of vocational work," and they slander the combination of productive labor with education and the running of schools with open doors as "practice--practice--practice." Chairman Mao says: "Our educational policy must enable one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." They say it can't be done and to try and do it this way is to neglect intellectual education and "not learn culture"; they say that for universities to train laboring people like workers and peasants is to skip the stage and "want to practice communism right now." Chairman Mao says: "To realize the proletarian revolution in education, we must have the leadership of the working class." No, they say, adding, "outsiders who are keen on science must

be put in charge." Chairman Mao says universities "must select students from among workers and peasants with practical experience." They say this can't be done either, and that "we must select the best of the middle school graduates and send them directly to universities," and so forth. Obviously, what this wind wants to blow away is Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line and the rich fruits of the educational revolution; what it wants to blow in is the very same revisionist educational line which was criticized so many times by the broad masses during the great cultural revolution. Just imagine, what proletarian "educational quality" could we speak of if we departed from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? If we fall back on doing things in this way, won't our education turn into a tool for training bourgeois overlords? If we let such people become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, won't we then be dispossessed of our proletarian rivers and mountains by the bourgeoisie? We must see through the appearance to perceive the essence and clearly recognize that their true aim is to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; we definitely must not be deceived by their honeyed words.

The great debate over the last several months has enabled us to perceive more and more clearly that the struggle in educational circles is not an isolated one and that the source of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is actually the unrepentant power holder within the Party taking the capitalist road who advocates the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." He tosses out a revisionist line for practicing restoration everywhere--to "reverse" this and that; the heart of the matter is that he wants to reverse the socialist direction of our Party and state, change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism. It is precisely this unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party who committed serious mistakes in line in the past and who was given a chance to repent by the Party after he demonstrated a desire "to repent, turn over a new leaf" and "never reverse previous verdicts" in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The facts prove, however, that he has not given up that revisionist stuff and, on the contrary, going from bad to worse, he carries out counter-attack in revenge and continues his trial of strength with the proletariat. The struggle now unfolding to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao points out: "If the East Wind does not prevail over the West Wind, then the West Wind will prevail over the East Wind; on questions of line there is no room for compromise." As to the challenge from the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, we can only mobilize the masses to wage a resolute struggle. Therefore, the great debate on the educational revolution must necessarily and gradually move from hitting back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in educational circles to hitting back at this wind on the other political and ideological fronts. Only in this way will we be able to safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, safeguard the fruits won in the great cultural revolution, and consolidate our proletarian dictatorship.

Some comrades fear that unfolding the great debate might upset the normal order already established in schools. What kind of order is normal order? According to materialist dialectics, contradictions and struggle go

on forever. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link!' Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Through criticism and struggle we can both ceaselessly stimulate the forward development of all our tasks and promote unity and stability on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. During the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, the educational front was dominated by the revisionist line; "the dignity of the teacher" was sacred and inviolable, students could only "study behind closed doors" and could only be "five-mark, lamb-like" docile tools. Isn't it strange that such a gloomy and profoundly stagnant situation should emerge in schools of a socialist state under proletarian dictatorship? In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students, in response to Chairman Mao's call that "education must be revolutionized," rose to criticize the revisionist line, took class struggle as their main subject, unfolded revolutionary mass criticism, took society as factory and ran their schools with open doors, thereby linking schools closely with social life and the actual struggle. They began to smash the old order of the bourgeoisie, and a lively new political situation emerged. Only this is the new order of proletarian schools. If comrades on the educational front entertain the illusion of a "calm and tranquil" school life, they are victimized by the revisionist line. One of the objectives of those people stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and who spare no effort in opposing the educational revolution is to vainly try to restore the old order of the bourgeoisie, that is, to restore the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals. If it is said that we may upset a certain order in schools by unfolding the great debate, what we may upset can only be that old bourgeois order that people stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts vainly seek to re-establish, but the new order of the proletariat will surely be further consolidated and developed in the course of this great debate.

Will the great debate affect teaching? This is also something we need not worry about. Unfolding a great debate certainly doesn't mean we don't need to teach. In accord with Chairman Mao's policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war," during the period of the movement neither classes nor production will stop and we will not organize fighting groups, but we should and can do a still better job of teaching. The experience of Tsinghua University and some other advanced units proves that when we "grasp class struggle all problems can be solved readily." In unfolding the great debate and hitting back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students have discerned what is right and what is wrong in line struggle, raised their consciousness of class and line struggles, adhered to the orientation that education needs to be revolutionized, and further aroused their socialist activism. They are thus able to make still greater achievements in all aspects of teaching, scientific research and production. Chairman Mao points out: "Class struggle is one of your main subjects." Lenin said: "What the tens of millions of people learn in a week of revolution is much more than what they can learn in a year of ordinary, muddled life." In the movement, we should guide the broad masses of teachers and students to combine the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with criticism of the absurd talk from the Right deviationist wind

to reverse verdicts, to learn to discern the tide in struggle, discern the direction of the wind, write big-character posters and critical articles, and conduct social investigations. This makes it easier to link theory with practice and to study in a lively manner, raise one's consciousness of class and line struggles and temper one's ability to analyze and solve problems. On the other hand, if we worry about what effect the big debate will have on teaching, if we dare not give a free hand to mobilizing the masses and cannot distinguish right from wrong on the question of line, then not only will we do teaching badly, but we may even go backward.

Influenced by the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, some comrades have said or done some erroneous things, and they have had some misgivings after the great debate started. These comrades should lay down their ideological burden, kindle their revolutionary spirit, mobilize the masses with a free hand, and boldly lead the movement. There are always some comrades who are deceived in the course of the many line struggles in our Party, either because their line struggle consciousness is low or because they are influenced by traditional concepts. These comrades are not like those who propose and stick to erroneous lines. Chairman Mao points out: "It doesn't matter if one makes a mistake. Our Party follows this rule. If you make a mistake, examine it, and you are allowed to correct it." This has been our consistent policy. Those comrades who have been influenced by the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts ought to join the masses in struggle, take the lead in study and criticism, accept education in struggle and draw a clear line of demarcation with the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts; they ought to ceaselessly raise their consciousness of line struggle and keep pace with the new situation in the revolution; they should not worry about personal gain or loss and abandon their leadership responsibility because they have said or done something wrong.

At present, the revolutionary great debate is developing in depth. The movement is developing very quickly and the situation is excellent. This movement must, from start to finish, be carried out under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and Party committees at all levels. In order to guarantee the healthy development of the movement and to be victorious in the great debate, Party committees at all levels on the educational front must pay earnest heed to Party policies. "Policy and tactic are the lifeline of the Party." We must seriously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the various principles and policies of the Party, strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, and get a firm grip on the main orientation of struggle. In the great debate on the educational revolution, it is important to criticize the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and it is particularly important to criticize its root cause, that revisionist line pushed by the unrepentant capitalist roader who proposes "taking the three directives as the key link." Toward comrades who have committed mistakes, we must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and persist in the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," urging them to correct their mistakes and welcoming them when they truly do. We must unite with more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses, unite with all forces that can be united with, bring all positive factors into play, and do a still better job at our various tasks. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, let us persist in taking class struggle

as the key link, uphold the basic line of the Party, and, in the fearless revolutionary spirit of "clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas," win still greater victories in the great debate on the educational revolution.

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Intellectuals Will Never Go Backward

- Criticizing absurd arguments opposing ideological remolding of intellectuals

by

Mass Criticism Group of Anhwei Normal University

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

Since last summer, stubbornly taking the bourgeois stand, those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in educational and scientific and technological circles have assumed the posture of "pleading" for intellectuals, opposing the ideological remolding of bourgeois intellectuals and rejecting the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and transforming intellectuals. They say: "The moment the movement comes, intellectuals are criticized and described as good for nothing." "Can we arouse their enthusiasm in this way?" At present, the mighty struggle to strike back at this Right deviationist wind is exposing their true features. This causes people to pause and think: Why are they after in making such a big fuss over the question of intellectuals?

These absurd arguments ignore objective reality, and are indeed very absurd. Since the founding of the PRC, which of the many political movements led by our Party, from the agrarian reform to the urban and rural socialist education movement to the great cultural revolution, was aimed exclusively at criticizing intellectuals? Regarding the state of the intelligentsia, Chairman Mao already made a scientific analysis long ago in his "Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work." Most of the intellectuals actively took part in successive political movements and were tempered and educated in the process. Of course, some intellectuals who opposed socialist revolution and construction were criticized, but they were a very small minority. How can that be twisted and said "the moment the movement comes intellectuals are criticized?" During the great proletarian cultural revolution which touched people's souls, the vast numbers of intellectuals, while criticizing in depth the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, inevitably came into conflict with their own bourgeois world outlook. Such "conflict" was aimed at freeing oneself from the spiritual yoke of the revisionist line, from the bourgeois concept of fame and gain, and moving over to the side of the proletariat. It is precisely this process that has enabled intellectuals to raise their awareness of the need to transform their world outlook and to integrate with workers and peasants, thereby seeing clearly the orientation of advance and their brilliant future.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses of teachers in our university have accepted re-education from the working class under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They have gone out of their campus and into the midst of workers, peasants and soldiers, into the heat of struggle to weather the storm and see the world. Profound changes have taken place in the mentality of many of them. Teachers and students of the department of liberal arts, going out to society, have joined workers, peasants and soldiers in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in unfolding revolutionary mass criticism. Besides taking part in the struggle, they have learned from

workers, peasants and soldiers and imporved themselves politically and vocationally. In the past two years or so, in cooperation with workers, peasants and soldiers, they have written a batch of works on the study of Marxism-Leninism, appraising Legalism and criticizing Confucianism, including Rustics Study Philosophy and Confucius' Criminal History. During the movement to study theory and to criticize Water Margin, some teachers and students of the department of history thrice went to southern Anhwei and western Chekiang, travelling over land and water, to conduct on-the-spot investigations. There, with the support of the poor and lower-middle peasants, they conducted an inquiry into Fang La's humble beginning as a laborer and his history as revolutionary leader, thus re-opening an old case of more than 800 years ago in historiography. A teacher who took part in the investigation said: "In the past, we used to study history behind closed doors and work through piles of old paper. The more we studied, the more muddled we became. Now, by relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers in making a revolution in historical science, we have a clear direction and work harder." The masses of teachers, having mastered Marxism in struggle, increased their proletarian feelings and revolutionary vigor. Facts have mercilessly repudiated such shameless lies as intellectuals "are criticized to excess." What is thoroughly criticized is the revisionist line and bourgeois ideology, which more and more intellectuals have come to hate bitterly through criticism. They are determined to break with it. This is a very good thing. In the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, bourgeois ideas flooded schools dominated by the revisionist line. Some people took pain in cultivating "private plots," hankering after "a paper which will give lifelong success," and studied so hard that they suffered a nervous breakdown. But the things they wrote had nothing to do with revolution, and either consciously or unconsciously they gave a helping hand to the bourgeoisie. Certain individuals even looked upon knowledge as capital, adopted a "policy of strength" toward the Party, and eventually embarked on the evil road against the Party and the people. Such lessons are still fresh in our memory.

Quite evidently, two different lines produce two different kinds of enthusiasm. The revisionist line is harmful not only to the revolution but to intellectuals as well. And only Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can manifest our real concern and love for intellectuals. The promoters of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts write off with a single stroke the socialist enthusiasm of intellectuals generated after the great cultural revolution. What they want to "arouse" is capitalist enthusiasm shown in struggle for personal fame and gain before the great cultural revolution. The masses of intellectuals, by comparing life before and after the great cultural revolution, clearly recognize that if the latter kind of enthusiasm is "aroused," they will only become tools for the restoration of capitalism. They just do not want to repeat the mistakes made before the great cultural revolution!

The remarkable progress made by intellectuals during the great cultural revolution resulted from our Party implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and demonstrated the mighty power of the Party's policy toward intellectuals. Formulated by Chairman Mao personally, the Party's policy of uniting with educating and transforming intellectuals is a firm class policy of the proletariat. The intelligentsia itself is not an independent class or stratum, and it may serve the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Our Party has all along attached great importance to its work among intellectuals

and to uniting with them. While uniting with them, it has always adopted various means to educate and transform them patiently and carefully, lead them to the revolutionary road, and bring their role into full play. The process of educating and transforming is also a process of strengthening the basis of unity. By virtue of education and transformation, intellectuals are made to transform their world outlook and to become one with workers, peasants and soldiers. As their ties with workers, peasants and soldiers grow, they will be able to better unite with workers, peasants and soldiers in working for a consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat.

The promoters of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts vilify the Party's policy toward intellectuals as "only transformation," and even allege that intellectuals are taken as "the target of dictatorship." In their eyes, it appears that transformation and unity just cannot go together. Actually, however, they want to abolish transformation, object to intellectuals taking the road of integrating with workers and peasants, and push them to the opposite side of workers and peasants. It is very clear that while the promoters of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts claim to "love" intellectuals, what they do is harmful to them.

How are we to view ideological remolding? People with different class stands hold different views. The imperialists slander it as "brain washing." The social-imperialists call it "persecution." Lin Piao and company attacked it as "reform through labor in disguise." The promoters of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts call it "dictatorship." Although different words are used, they are all intended to attack our Party's policy toward intellectuals. The proletariat holds that remolding is not a bad but a good thing, and that ideological transformation among the people, in particular, is an indispensible condition for prompting people to continue the revolution. As the objective world is constantly changing, to take part in the struggle to change reality, people must constantly transform the subjective world to meet the needs of such a change. Therefore, "not only those who have not yet changed their basic stand but all people should study and remold themselves." When society reaches the stage where everybody can consciously transform the subjective and objective worlds, then communism will have been achieved. The masses of intellectuals, tempered in the great cultural revolution, fully understand that "without this remolding, nothing can be accomplished and everything will be wide off the mark." It is precisely under the inspiration of the Party's policy toward intellectuals that a group of activists who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in revolution through to the end has appeared in our university. Most of the middle-aged and young teachers have displayed high spirits in the practice of the educational revolution, but even some old teachers are grateful to the great cultural revolution for the education they received. Saying "old trees bear flowers with the advent of spring," they express their resolve to "devote their remaining years" to the Party cause and make contributions to the educational revolution. These facts are a sound slap to people who disparage remolding.

The advocates of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts are restless about the progress made by intellectuals, and become even more furious at hearing that intellectuals still need a long period of remolding. With an axe to grind, they raise this question: "Have we changed the appraisal

that the two ends are small and the middle is big?" Actually, this is to attack Chairman Mao's appraisal of intellectuals as out-dated. Such views completely nullify the ideological remolding of intellectuals and negate class struggle in the ideological sphere, and are part and parcel of the theory of the dying out of class struggle.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that throughout the historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and that "it will still take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue of who will win out, socialism or capitalism, in the ideological field in our country." This struggle must inevitably be reflected in the intellectual ranks. Although many intellectuals have made varying degrees of progress politically and ideologically since the start of the great cultural revolution, it must be noted that the majority of them were raised in old schools, some came from the old society, and some were badly influenced by the revisionist educational line. The radical revolution carried out by the proletariat in education has just begun. To build a grand new contingent of proletarian intellectuals, including the remolding of existing intellectuals, is definitely not a task that can be done overnight. Therefore, as far as the majority of intellectuals are concerned, to enable them to replace their bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook remains a long-term task. Today, the condition of our intellectuals is still more or less the same as that analyzed by Chairman Mao in his "Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work," namely, those who are more conversant with Marxism and firmly side with the proletariat are a minority; the majority support socialism and are willing to serve the people, but their world outlook remains basically bourgeois; and intellectuals who are hostile to our state are an extremely tiny handful. "This condition will still remain for a very long time." Chairman Mao's appraisal of intellectuals--"the two ends are small and the middle is big"--is definitely not out-dated.

"The change in world outlook is a fundamental change." Transforming intellectuals' world outlook requires a long period of tempering, sometimes even painful, and possible vacillations and reversals must be overcome. The department of biology in our university once held its classes in the countryside during the great cultural revolution. In 1972, influenced by erroneous ideas, it moved back to the city. Last year, after studying the experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College and orienting itself to serving agriculture, the department once again moved to the countryside. Over the past years, many teachers have gone deep into communes, production brigades and factories to study and manufacture bacterial pesticide and undertake such tasks as plant protection. They are welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. The experience--"countryside - city - countryside"--of this department shows that remolding of intellectuals is never smooth sailing. It is precisely in the course of overcoming such vacillation and reversal that they continue to progress. Promoters of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts attempt to take advantage of such twists and turns in the path of remolding intellectuals to cast doubts and pull the legs of intellectuals, but their effort is totally futile.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The remolding of intellectuals is a very serious question in the entire course of socialist revolution and socialist construction." After seizing power, the proletariat must transform

intellectuals in its image and lead them to the track of proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, will do its best to maintain its influence over intellectuals and oppose this remolding. On this question, there has always been a violent struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Before the great cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and company stubbornly pushed the revisionist line, interfered with and undermined Chairman Mao's policy toward intellectuals as well as corrupting and winning them over with bourgeois ideas in an attempt to turn them into tools for capitalist restoration. The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and declared their plot to use intellectuals to effectuate capitalist restoration bankrupt. However, the struggle was anything but over. Today, to "restrain oneself and return to propriety" and to practice restoration and regression, those whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts again actively oppose the ideological remolding of intellectuals and openly clamor that "top-notch authorities" should be allowed to assume power in scientific and technological circles. It can be seen that the various absurd arguments submitted by these people on the question of intellectuals are, in the final analysis, vainly aimed at pulling intellectuals back onto the old road of revisionism, transforming them with bourgeois ideas in the service of their revisionist line of restoration and regression. For this reason, we must shout at them: No! "To rely on you would, in effect, to rely on the big landlord and big bourgeois classes, and there would be the danger of our Party and state perishing. On whom can we rely? We can only rely on transforming the Party and the world in the image of the proletarian vanguard."

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Regression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere." The present promoters of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts likewise cannot escape this historical law. They underestimate the strength of the Party and the consciousness of the workers and peasants. They also underestimate the consciousness of the vast numbers of intellectuals who have been tempered in the great cultural revolution. They do not hesitate to spread all sorts of political rumors to drive a wedge between the intellectuals and the Party, thinking that in this way many intellectuals will follow them. However, their absurd fallacies aimed at disparaging the great cultural revolution and pulling intellectuals backward not only anger the broad masses of workers and peasants, but also offend the vast numbers of intellectuals who are willing to make progress, and this has caused them to sink into a position of utter isolation. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, a mass movement to strike back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing in depth. The restorationist dream of unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party will certainly be shattered. Moreover, vast numbers of intellectuals will continue to advance in this great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They will march with ever firmer steps on the broad path of turning themselves into revolutionary laborers.

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Refute the Argument That "'White and Expert' Is Good for the Chinese People's Republic"

by

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The "white and expert" road is a revisionist stuff that has been criticized repeatedly by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals. However, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party bring it out again while whipping up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, go all out to praise it, and invent a "reason" saying that "'white and expert' is good for the Chinese People's Republic." What a fallacy!

What does the white and expert road mean? The answer is very clear to the proletariat and the laboring people. "White" is the opposite of "Red." It stands for what belongs to the reactionaries and the bourgeoisie, such as "the white army," "the white areas," "white terror." It exists in opposition to the Red Army and the Red areas and for suppression of the revolution. Doesn't the fact that the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party so much likes "white" show nakedly that he embodies the class nature of the bourgeoisie? "White and expert" means serving bourgeois vocational studies and bourgeois politics under the guidance of bourgeois ideology. Therefore, the white and expert road is the capitalist road. The fact that the capitalist roader whipping up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts describes this road as "good for the Chinese People's Republic" clearly indicates that he is openly trying to restore capitalism in China and that his "zeal" in following the capitalist road has reached the point where it can longer be concealed. Not only is the capitalist roader still on the capitalist road, but he is running even faster and faster!

Chairman Mao has taught us: Politics is the commander and the soul. "Political work is the lifeline of all economic work." This instruction reveals in a profound way the dialectical relations between politics and various types of vocational work and tells us that only under the command of proletarian politics can the various lines and trades of socialism develop in a correct direction. Chairman Mao has always called upon us to put proletarian politics in command of vocational work and to take the red and expert road. But, on the pretext of realizing "four modernizations," the unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party wants people to devote all their time to scientific research and studying culture, in effect, to take education and scientific research to the evil road of serving restoration of capitalism. This is an obvious example of their opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and doggedly adhering to the revisionist line.

"White and expert" can do nothing but harm to the Chinese People's Republic. This is still fresh in the memory of those who personally experienced and suffered deeply from the revisionist educational line of "17 years."

Before the great cultural revolution, some people, under the influence of the revisionist line, embarked on the white and expert road, divorced from politics and reality, burying their heads in vocational studies and reading behind closed doors. Although they read scores of books and wrote scores of papers, none of these was useful to production. Take the estuary and coast research division of our department for example. Before, there were quite a few people who read and wrote all day long, but what they studied were all subjects without practical meaning set by some so-called specialists. They were, however, uninterested in such practical problems as building sea walls and improving harbors. Can it be that what they did was good for the Chinese People's Republic?

To seek personal fame and gain and to score an overnight hit with a paper, some who took the white and expert road stopped at nothing in keeping the material for themselves, forging data, keeping "secrets" from others and imposing "blackout." This could not but affect the development of scientific research and socialist construction. How can we say that what they did was good for the Chinese People's Republic?

Those who take the white and expert road according to the revisionist line usually show no concern for proletarian politics, yet their heads are full of bourgeois politics. They are bourgeois individualists. When their desire for fame and gain is left unfulfilled, they will develop a sense of discontent with the socialist system, and, given the proper climate and soil, will jump out to oppose the Party, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the anti-Rightist struggle in 1957, a number of so-called "top notch," "good students" in our department degenerated into anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists. It may be asked: In what way was this good for the Chinese People's Republic?

The white and expert road advocated by the revisionist line is designed to turn the vast numbers of intellectuals into a social basis for restoration of capitalism. After Khrushchev and Brezhnev seized leadership of the Soviet Party and state, they turned schools into tools of bourgeois dictatorship, raised large numbers of university graduates to take the white and expert road and, with high office and rich emoluments as bait, put them in leadership posts at various levels so as to serve social-imperialism. These so-called specialists are actually tools of social-imperialism for armaments expansion and war preparations, manufacturing deadly weapons, suppressing the masses of people, and plundering the Third World. Such is the final result of taking the white and expert road.

It is very clear that if there is anything good in "white and expert," the benefit can only go to the bourgeoisie in the Chinese People's Republic and its representatives Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like in their vain attempt to restore capitalism. Taking the beaten track of the Soviet revisionists, they energetically push the revisionist line, keenly advocate the white and expert road, and add to the soil for the restoration of capitalism. To advocate "white and expert" is actually to raise the white flag to oppose the Red flag, to organize a "white army" to attack the "Red army," to develop "white areas" to "surround and exterminate" the "red areas",and finally to change the nature of our Party and state, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

To keep our Party and state from changing color and to build our country into a modern and strong socialist country, we can only take the red and expert road charted by Chairman Mao. The spectacular great proletarian cultural revolution gave a powerful boost to the speedy development of the educational revolution. The occupation of the superstructure by the working class, the entry of worker-peasant-soldier students into universities, their management and use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to transform universities as well as open-door education and scientific research--all of this has created conditions for us to take the red and expert road. Take our department of geography as an example. Over the past years, the revolutionary teachers and students have upheld the policy of "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." Under the command of proletarian politics and linking book knowledge and scientific research with production practice, they have made definite contributions toward building embankments for land reclamation in Chinshan, selecting the site for the Ch'enshan Wharf, expanding the area of the Lienyün harbor, surveying the newly-built highway of the Huangshan Tea Plantation, surveying and building medium and small reservoirs, studying the navigation of the Yangtze River estuary, planning the building of the harbor on the Ch'ungming Island and planning irrigation projects for farmland in Shanghai's suburbs, and so forth. They have indeed made gratifying achievements. The revolutionary teachers and students, undaunted by the scorching sun or the severe cold and undeterred by fierce winds and pounding waves, overcame one difficulty after another and unyieldingly fought on barren hills and along the bank of the river mouth, scoring victory after victory. They have won the warmhearted praise of related departments and the masses of workers and peasants. Facts prove that only by persistently putting proletarian politics in command and leading the students to take the red and expert road can we make contributions to socialism and serve the consolidition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we run our school according to the revisionist line and take the white and expert road, even if we acquire more knowledge, we cannot serve proletarian politics or socialist construction. What is the use of training such personnel? The unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party want to negate all the achievements of the great cultural revolution and drag us back to the white and expert road, but the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals will never let them do so.

When we oppose "white and expert," we do not, as the promoters of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts charge, "do away with the study of culture." Nor are we "afraid of talking about being expert." In criticizing "white and expert," we aim at getting a better understanding of the relations between red and expert and between politics and vocational work, persist in being expert under the command of proletarian politics, and take up vocational and cultural studies in the interest of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. Our worker-peasant-soldier students come to the school charged with a heavy task of the proletariat, transform the school with Mao Tsetung Thought, and assiduously study culture and special skills. When they leave the school, they will be able to do their work well and give their all to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is a powerful rebuff to the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts!

"Red and expert" or "white and expert"--this is a problem of whether to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line or push the revisionist line, take the socialist road or follow the capitalist road. This issue--"'white and expert' is good for the Chinese People's Republic"--is worthy of debate because it unmasks the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, and shows up his entire purpose in proposing to "take the three directives as the key link," that is, to restore capitalism. We must firmly stand on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, struggle against this gust of Right deviationist wind to restore capitalism, and carry the fight against revisionism through to the end. We must, following the orientation of Chairman Mao's "May 7 directive," guide the worker-peasant-soldier students to firmly take the red and expert road and work hard for training millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, for training laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture, and for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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Open-door Education Must Not Be Negated

by

Mass Criticism Group of Sian Medical College

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The advocates of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, harboring ulterior motives, attack open-door education for lowering the quality of education, calling it "practice--practice--practice." They attack it for "rejecting theory" and making teachers "not know what they should do," and so forth. By condemning open-door education, a new thing that appeared from the great proletarian cultural revolution, they want to negate the proletarian educational revolution in an attempt to restore the rule of our schools by the bourgeoisie in the educational domain and create the conditions for unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party to bring about all-round restoration of capitalism.

Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Sian Medical College, following Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" and "June 26 Directive," has oriented itself to the countryside, operated with an open door, and scored definite achievements, which serve as a forceful rebuff to the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts.

It is a fact that the educational revolution has steadily raised the quality of education. In the face of it, those bourgeois representatives cannot but meet with ignominious failure. Take our school as an example. Whereas the old medical college offered a six-year course, today the worker-peasant-soldier students study only for three years, but the quality of three-year education is higher than that of six-year education. Then, let's look at the vocational level of the students. In the old medical college students "did not take up medical study in the first year or clinical practice in the third year, and did not come into contact with workers and peasants in all the six years." They read a lot of books, but knew little about how such knowledge could be applied. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out: "Until an intellectual's book knowledge is integrated with practice, it is not complete, and it may be very incomplete indeed." In those days graduates--not all or few but quite a majority--"know only how to talk about theories, but get into a cold sweat at the sight of patients." It was only after a further period of practice after graduation that they gradually learned how to prevent and cure diseases. Now, with the school opening its door, students begin from their first year going down to the countryside to take part in the practical activity of preventing and curing common and frequent diseases. This makes for close integration of book knowledge with medical practice, so the students begin to acquire more complete knowledge. Today, under the guidance of their teachers, second-year students are generally able to perform surgery on piles, fistula, appendix and hernia as well as diagnozing and treating a number of common diseases. On graduation after the third year, they are able to work independently; not only can they initially apply the method of combining Chinese traditional and Western medicine to preventing and curing common and frequent diseases, but some of them are able to undertake

independently relatively complicated surgical operations such as the removal of the meningocele in the countryside with comparatively poor medical facilities. A contract between past and present will show which kind of quality is higher.

However, speaking of quality, political quality is even more important. As far as medical students are concerned, if no attention were paid to political showing and to whom are served, and if "high quality" merely meant the capability to practice medicine, it would be an out-and-out revisionist viewpoint. Whether students trained by the medical college can wholeheartedly serve the people and are willing to attend to workers, peasants and soldiers is a matter of prime importance. Swayed by the revisionist line, students trained by the old medical college hankered after big city and big hospital and, instead of wanting to serve workers, peasants and soldiers, wanted to become intellectual aristocrats of the bourgeoisie. Some "were taken away by the bourgeoisie after they mastered the skills;" others "picked up the syringe needle but forgot the hoe." Viewed from the proletarian stand, what quality of such education is there to speak of? To enable students to really shift over to the side of workers, peasants and soldiers and embrace the idea of serving them, we must encourage them to keep in close touch with the worker-peasant-soldier masses in the course of their studies, plunge into the heat of practical struggle in real life, and study industry, agriculture and military affairs. This entails the need to open the school to society. Since the great cultural revolution, we have led teachers and students to take the May 7 road charted by Chairman Mao precisely for the purpose of solving first of all the question of whom to serve. Through re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the ideological consciousness of the worker-peasant-soldier students has been steadily raised, their hatred for the old society and the revisionist health line has grown stronger, and their understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in public health has deepened. All of them indicate that they will never become bourgeois intellectual aristocrats indifferent to the sufferings of the people, but must resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in public health and become bosom friends of the poor and lower-middle peasants. To reduce the pain of patients, they practice injection and acupuncture on each other's body. When some students heard that the sting of wasps was effective in curing numbness of facial nerves, they experimented with it on their own bodies. Others, to save critically ill persons, walked scores of li in darkness to obtain the medicine. When there was no blood bank around, they offered their own blood. On graduation, quite a number of students resolutely asked to go to the countryside, to the difficult places, to act as promoters in narrowing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois rights. Is this something that those bourgeois intellectual aristocrats can do?

Practice proves that only by persisting in open-door education and taking the road of integrating with workers, peasants and soldiers can students, in the course of serving the people, temper themselves with the thought of serving the people and acquire the skills to do so. Having possessed the thought of wholeheartedly serving the people, one can bring his

medical techniques into fuller play. In the course of running the college with an open door, we once came across an old poor-peasant woman suffering from a mixed tumor in her cheek glands. Before the great cultural revolution, she had her illness treated, but because the doctors did not treat her seriously, her trouble was not cured. With deep proletarian feelings, our teachers and students overcame all sorts of technical difficulties and finally removed the tumor for her. This shows that different feelings on the part of doctors toward their patients produce different results of treatment. Only those who possess the good thought of serving the people can make better use of medical techniques and make greater contributions to the struggle to eradicate diseases among the people. Only by training such Red and expert worker-peasant-soldier students can we really have the high quality of the proletariat.

Does open-door education mean "practice--practice--practice" and "rejecting theory"? Compared with the old college, there is indeed more practice after the college is run with an open door. But what is wrong about that? "The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position." Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge--such is the way to know the objective world and gain more complete knowledge. Fundamentally speaking, teaching must also follow this course. Because open-door education attaches more significance to practice than before, we have smashed the past upside-down idealist teaching system of "theory--practice--theory." However, attaching more importance to practice in open-door education in no way implies that we do not need theory, but that we stress the linking of theory with reality and the unity of theory and practice. Chairman Mao says: "There is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality." If we separate the study of theory completely from practice and do not have the least perceptual knowledge, we cannot study theory well. Take, for example, the basic theoretical course on pharmacology. In the past, a lot of time was devoted to lectures in the classroom, but when the students began clinical practice, they very often did not know how to use the medicine and also forgot the "principles." After the door of the college was opened to society, we have taught this course in connection with the practice of preventing and curing diseases by worker-peasant-soldier students. Studying and practicing at the same time, the students appreciate the theories deeply and are able to apply what they have learned. As a result, basic theories of medical science are freed from books and the classroom. For another example, take the subject of clinical theory. We conduct teaching in connection with typical cases of diseases. A medical teaching team once came across a child suffering from anaemia in whose case a big hospital was unable to make a definite diagnosis. Under the guidance of their teacher, the students began with an investigation and studied a lot of reference material. After that, they correctly diagnosed the case as active immunity anaemia and cured the child. Subsequently, the teacher and students made a joint summing-up. The teacher's lecturing from the particular to the general enabled the students not only to gain a deeper understanding of active immunity anaemia but also to acquire comparatively systematic theoretical knowledge about the characteristics of various kinds of anaemia and their causes, vital points of judgment and diagnosis as well as methods of prevention and cure. Conducting theoretical teaching in the light of reality in this manner has changed the habit of learning by rote,

enabling students to acquire relatively complete knowledge unifying theory with practice. Seeing that we study theory in connection with practice, the bourgeois representatives shout aloud that we "reject theory," and this can only show that they are totally ignorant of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

"Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth." Theories in medical books are derived from the experience of our predecessors. Following the development of objective things and man's knowledge, some of these theories may not conform to practical conditions. Through open-door education, teachers and students can correct those shortcomings during medical practice. For example, it was ruled in past books that when hematin was lower than 65 percent, such big surgical operations as joining the main bile duct affected by bladder tumor with the jejunum should not be conducted. While conducting open-door classes in the countryside, we came across a patient suffering from bladder tumor in the main bile duct. The hematin was only 30 percent, but if an operation were not performed immediately, the patient might die. In order to save the patient, after making various kinds of scientific analyses and preparations, we operated on the patient successfully. There were other similar cases. Facts show that open-door education enables us to continuously solve new problems posed by life to the medical science, to gain new knowledge of diseases, to accumulate new experience in the fight against diseases, and to continuously enrich and perfect medical theories. Far from "rejecting theory," it enables students to learn more scientific theories.

Do we want theories of all and any kinds? No. We have indeed "suppressed" some theories. Most old medical theories came from foreign countries, and the entire medical and teaching system was deeply stamped with brand of the exploiting class. There were numerous subjects in the old medical college, and the content was out-dated. Each of the 30 and more subjects had its own system. The fundamental subjects were very complex. From the dyeing methods of bacterial flagella to the vein and artery system of mosquito wings, from how much fruit, milk and eggs should be consumed to maintain health to the checking methods of determining whether fish is fresh, to even the anatomical structure of the "six-star" fish which had nothing to do with medicine--all this became part of medical theory. The old medical teaching material was stuffed with quite a lot of rubbish advocating idealism and metaphysics, such as attributing the birth of medical theory to a few geniuses and so on. With open-door education, one who puts these things to the test of practical life will see how useless they are. As to these hackneyed theories that filled the old medical science, we have suppressed and will continue to suppress them until they are totally eradicated. If they are not suppressed, they will erode our younger generation on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Thus, when the charge--"rejecting theory"--is levelled against us because we do so, it precisely exposes the reactionary features of those advocates of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts in safeguarding the bourgeois ideological system and trying to restore capitalism.

Open-door education has laid many new problems before teachers. The advocates of the Right deviationist wind make an issue of it and say teachers "do not know what to do." This is inconsistent with facts.

It must be borne in mind that the majority of teachers came from old schools. They themselves have received capitalist or revisionist education. The world outlook of many of them remains fundamentally bourgeois. Though they possess some book knowledge, in most cases, theory is divorced from practice. For instance, teachers of basic theoretical subjects of medicine do not know how to cure diseases. Some can do nothing without access to modern medical equipment, and do not know how to prevent and cure diseases and conduct teaching in the countryside under existing conditions. Due to excessive division of work, doctors of Western medicine do not know Chinese traditional medicine; those who treat eye diseases do not know how to solve dental problems, and so on and so forth. In the past, they instilled into students the same old stuff year after year. If such a condition of the teachers are not changed, it will be impossible to turn out the kind of students needed by workers, peasants and soldiers. "The problem of teaching reform is largely the problem of teachers." As far as the masses of teachers are concerned, open-door education means undergoing political re-education and vocational re-study in order to "follow" the proletarian educational revolution and the work of raising successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. In the course of running the college with an open door, teachers modestly learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants, make strenuous efforts to transform their world outlook, and progress rapidly in the ideological sense. Some have even joined the Chinese Communist Party. Many of them have also attained gratifying achievements in vocational work. On the basis of investigations and research, the teachers of our college have compiled more than 20 kinds of new teaching material to meet the needs of the proletarian educational revolution. Teachers of basic theory go by separate stages to the various clinical departments to study diagnosis and cure of common and frequent diseases. The great majority of teachers of clinical subjects have attended study classes on Chinese traditional medicine and have initially learned the basic theory and therapy of Chinese traditional medicine. Many teachers actively participate in the rural health revolution, learn from barefoot doctors, and implement the principle of giving the emphasis to prevention. Practice enables teachers to break the narrow division of work and, while specializing in one field, diversify into other fields, raising their ability to conduct medical practice and teaching independently under rural conditions. Many facts have shown that open-door education has enabled teachers to "adapt" themselves to the educational revolution. Through open-door education, the masses of teachers are able to meet more of the needs of the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside and of the needs of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Having ease of mind, they feel that they have a great future at their posts. The advocates of the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, by playing up this issue, attempt to incite the revolutionary teachers to oppose open-door education, but their effort is futile.

Whether schools should be run with an open door or a closed door reflects the acute struggle between the two classes and two lines. Looking back at the path we have taken, we deeply feel that every step taken in the direction of open-door education will meet with the stubborn resistance of the bourgeoisie. It is precisely because we take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and criticize the revisionist line that we have won one victory after another in the educational revolution. Not very long ago, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party stirred

up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts in an attempt to negate the solid achievements of the educational revolution and counter-attack in revenge the great proletarian cultural revolution. We are determined, taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our weapon, carry on in depth the great debate on the educational revolution, crush the frenzied attacks launched by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party, continue to persist in open-door education and carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end.

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To Learn from Tachai, It Is Necessary to Grasp the Key Link, Class Struggle

- Investigation Report on Tungkou Brigade of Hsiyang County, Shansi

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

Learning from Tachai in agriculture is a great revolutionary movement. Only by firmly grasping the key link, class struggle, conscientiously implementing the Party's basic line, and intensively criticizing revisionism and capitalism can effort be really directed toward grasping revolution and promoting production. This is a fundamental experience that has repeatedly been borne out in practice. Since last year, this point has been further illustrated by the course taken by the Tungkou brigade of Hsiyang county to expose contradictions and correct its operating orientation through studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Tungkou, a brigade of the Hungshui commune located in the southern part of Hsiyang county, is for the most part a mountainous area with arable land averaging only 1.1 mow per capita. Its natural conditions are relatively bad. How can revolution be carried out on this "1.1 mow of land"? For a long time, this has been an important issue of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in this brigade. Before the great cultural revolution, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the brigade Party branch, short of the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, used to depend on state assistance. Production developed at a slow pace. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism of the revisionist line, everyone's consciousness has been raised, the movement to learn from Tachai has been developed, and both production conditions and the physical outlook have been transformed initially. A brigade which formerly was unable to attain self-sufficiency in grain has turned into one with surplus grain to sell to the state. However, within the collective economy, the question of which road to take has not been completely settled, nor has the poisonous influence of the revisionist line been eradicated once and for all. In recent years, among the leading members of the Party branch, such capitalist ideas as "in Tungkou where there is little land and a large population, we must find other means to get rich" have appeared anew. Under the influence of the spontaneous forces of capitalism, they mistakenly thought that "so long as the collective increases its production and income, it makes no difference if things are harvested in the fields or earned from the outside." As a consequence, the bulk of manpower and material resources was devoted to improper sideline activities. Sideline operations were developed at the expense of agriculture, which was retarded. Of 34 flat carts owned by the brigade, 23 were used for sideline purposes. The bulk of power equipment, processing machinery and water-pumps purchased by the brigade was also used for sideline production that had nothing to do with agriculture. In this way, while it appeared that the income rose, the orientation was wrong and people were disorganized. This weakened the collective economy and encouraged capitalist tendencies.

The publication of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory inspired and educated the cadres and commune members of Tungkou brigade, giving them a powerful ideological weapon. Both cadres and the commune members repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's teachings and the theory of

the dictatorship of the proletariat. Studying Tachai's experience, they recognized anew the road they had taken. Chairman Mao says: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." Chairman Mao's teaching sharpened the eyes of the cadres and commune members, and illuminated their direction of advance. Everybody joined in the discussion: Has the road taken by Tungkou in recent years been beneficial to strengthening the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and to realizing the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat? Has it steadfastly grasped class struggle, implemented the Party's basic line and kept to the socialist orientation in the same manner as Tachai? Has it developed and expanded the collective economy and brought the socialist initiative of the masses into play? A series of questions were raised. At that moment, comrades of the higher-level Party committee arrived to join the cadres and commune members of the brigade in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Tachai's experience and, in the light of the brigade's practical conditions, exposing and analyzing contradictions and unfolding revolutionary mass criticism.

"So long as the collective increases its production and income, it makes no difference if things are harvested in the fields or earned from the outside." Is this so? In the course of revolutionary mass criticism, this erroneous viewpoint was intensively repudiated as facts were laid out on the table and issues settled through reasoning. Experience and lessons, present and past, were summed up. In 1963, Tungkou was struck by disastrous floods. With assistance provided by the state and fraternal communes and brigades, it was fully able to restore and expand production by relying on and developing the strength of the collective economy. But due to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the brigade Party branch, in the name of "raising money to tide over the disaster," allowed the commune members to go outside to take up sideline occupations to make money. This demoralized the people, opened the floodgates for capitalism, and caused grave loss to the collective economy. In recent years, with the revisionist line coming under fire, a movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture was launched, and production should have been further developed. But then the brigade Party branch, desirous of only increasing income, devoted the bulk of manpower and material resources to improper sideline activities, thus weakening the collective economy. The fixed assets in agriculture declined year after year. In the brigade's net income, the contribution by agriculture was less than 50 percent. Some 70 percent of the fields were still "three-run-away fields" where water, soil and manure ran off. There was no basic change in production conditions. The poor and lower-middle peasants said critically: "Here capitalism does not stink and socialism is not fragrant; while paying lip service to learning from Tachai, we're actually running on the capitalist road. How can one say there is no difference?"

Reviewing and summing up past experience, the cadres and commune members further realized that on the management orientation of the collective economy in the countryside, the struggle between the two roads, socialist and

capitalist, is a protracted one. When the struggle against capitalism is firmly grasped, the collective economy will advance in the direction of socialism and production develop; when the struggle is relaxed, the collective economy will deviate from the socialist path, and production will suffer losses. If we "mind only money and grain, and not the key link and line," we will be led by capitalism by the nose, and as time goes on, the socialist collective economy will be in danger of degenerating.

Why was the brigade leadership so enthusiastic in conducting improper sideline operations? Some leading members of the Party branch at first found it hard to figure out why, after working so hard to increase the income of the collective, they were still criticized. Then in the course of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we all analyzed this problem. We found that the main reason was that some comrades failed to understand that in order to adhere to the socialist orientation, it was necessary to restrict bourgeois rights. At present, bourgeois rights still exist in different degrees in various aspects of the relations of production in the countryside. And bourgeois rights constitute the soil and conditions engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements. If we fail to persist in criticizing capitalism and impose necessary restrictions on bourgeois rights, it is possible that as income rises, bourgeois rights will be inflated and capitalism will spread unchecked, with inevitable disruptive effects on socialist production. Facts make everyone see clearly that Tungkou brigade's improper sideline operations over the years did not restrict but extend bourgeois rights and that it did not criticize but condone capitalist tendencies. As a result, not only did a handful of people with serious capitalist inclinations take the opportunity to do what they pleased, but the socialist enthusiasm of the commune members was stifled and the thinking of cadres eroded. Some cadres were unable to perceive the nature of problems arising from management orientation, nor could they tell socialism from capitalism. Unaware of the pitfall, they always argued that when grain output and income rose, this meant success in learning from Tachai and building socialism. After study and criticism, many comrades woke up and said: "If we did so, we would put the cart of the collective economy on the capitalist road!"

In order to further raise everyone's consciousness in class and line struggles, the comrades of the higher-level Party committee concentrated their efforts on helping the brigade Party branch conduct a rectification of workstyle and unfold discussion on this question: "What is the major obstacle to making revolution on 1.1 mow of land?" After studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, everyone raised their understanding and drew a clearer line of demarcation between socialism and capitalism. Looking back over the course they had taken, they quickly realized that the major obstacle blocking Tungkou brigade's advance was not "a large population and little land" but the grave capitalist tendencies. After summing up their experience and lessons, they agreed it was totally wrong for them to regard the increases in grain output and income as taking the socialist road. To learn from Tachai, we must firmly grasp the key link, class struggle, constantly carry out the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, incessantly criticize the revisionist line as well as capitalist

tendencies, and adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. On the basis of a higher understanding, the brigade reorganized and reinforced its leading group in accordance with the five requirements set by Chairman Mao for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and the principle of three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. It was determined to take class struggle as the key link, resume the march in learning from Tachai, and create new achievements on "1.1 mow of land." The brigade readjusted its sideline operations. It set up a cattle farm, a farm tools repair and assembly plant, and a nursery directly serving agriculture. Moreover, it shifted the bulk of funds, machinery and manpower formerly devoted to sideline operations to agriculture. It was planned to build 600 mow of high-standard garden plots in three years. In July last year, work was started on building a plain by leveling mountains and filling gullies.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "a line or a viewpoint must be talked about constantly and repeatedly," the brigade Party branch has since the latter half of last year intensified mass education on the basic line. In the light of the reality of class and line struggles in the brigade and the lessons learned by the Party branch from "departing from the key link and deviating from the line" over the past years, commune members were guided to expose signs of capitalist tendencies, perceive the danger involved, and strike at the disruptive activities of class enemies. The evening political school of the brigade has been run with increasingly good results, the peasants theoretical contingent has come into being and continued to expand, and the cooperative medical service has been further consolidated. The amateur cultural and arts propaganda teams are engaged in telling revolutionary stories, creating revolutionary poems and songs and opening reading rooms, thereby changing existing habits and customs, breaking the old and establishing the new. They have become an effective instrument for propagating socialist ideas and strengthening the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

As the capitalist road is blocked, the march toward socialism begins. Over the past year, studying theory, grasping the line, and taking class struggle as the key link in learning from Tachai in the brigade have enabled agricultural production and the collective economy to develop rapidly in the direction of socialism. Its total grain output rose from 920,000 catties in 1974 to 1.1 million catties, with per-mow yield crossing the "Yangtze" to reach 900 catties. An irrigation station was built, extending the irrigated area by 270 mow. Two tractors were purchased, and the machine-plowed area has expanded to account for 60 percent of the total cultivated acreage. Looking back at the progress made during the past year, both cadres and the commune members of the brigade say jubilantly: "Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory has illuminated our path of learning from Tachai, and we must firmly grasp this key link, class struggle, and not let go of it!"

Investigation Team of CCP Shansi Provincial Committee and CCP Hsiyang County Committee

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Implement the Policy of Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production

- Investigation Report on Shihkang Steel Refining Plant of the Capital Iron and Steel Company

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

The Shihkang Steel Refining Plant of the Capital Iron and Steel Company is a steel refining plant designed and built by China itself. Under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line before the great cultural revolution, the plant Party committee devoted attention only to grasping production and not to the line struggle. This caused the enterprise to depart from the socialist orientation and gravely hindered the development of production. Then came the great cultural revolution. The masses of cadres and workers criticized the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, persisted in the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production advanced by Chairman Mao, correctly handled the relationship between politics and economics, and insured the continuous growth of production. It has overfulfilled its state plans every year and achieved its target set by the fourth Five-year Plan two years ahead of schedule. Last year's steel output was 6.3 times that of 1965, exceeding the designed capacity by 89 percent. Since 1969, without expansion of major equipment, steel production has grown at an annual rate of 17 percent, with all major technical and economic indexes reaching advanced levels.

The rapid development of production in the steel plant has been realized amid the acute struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, an outcome of persisting in taking class struggle as the key link and implementing the Party's basic line. The cadres and masses of the steel plant used to say: "To make steel, we must first of all grasp the key link." This key link is class struggle. Classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist throughout the historical period of socialism. In socialist enterprises, there has always been a sharp struggle over whether to take class struggle as the key link, persist in the Party's basic line and advance in the direction of socialism or to practice the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle, push the revisionist line and restore capitalism. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, this struggle has not died out.

In 1969, after the Ninth Party Congress, all the staff and workers of the plant were carrying out in depth struggle-criticism-transformation, determined to promote the massive development of steel production under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A leading member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Ch'en Po-ta, visited the Capital Iron and Steel Company on 12 occasions between July 1969 and July 1970. His purpose was to frantically undermine and harass Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, strenuously peddle the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle in an effort to make the steel plant concentrate all manpower and material resources on "automation." He clamored for "a second industrial revolution" with electronics as the center. But at that time the primary task of the steel plant was to grasp class struggle as the key link and seriously conduct struggle-criticism-transformation in order to use revolution to push production. Both the staff

and workers of the steel plant, having been tempered by the great cultural revolution, rejected Ch'en Po-ta's package deal and boycotted the revisionist merchandise he peddled. Instead, they stuck to the great policy of grasping revolution and promoting production advanced by Chairman Mao. First of all, they grasped struggle-criticism-transformation in the enterprise to purify the class ranks, consolidate the Party and implement various proletarian policies. Revolution promoted production. By bringing the socialist enthusiasm of the staff and workers into full play, steel production in 1969 was highest on record since the plant was completed. In 1970, steel production again rose by a big margin, exceeding its designed capacity for the first time. In the process of the struggle, the staff and workers of the steel plant deepened their understanding of the Party's basic line and became more conscious in embracing the idea that "to make steel, we must first of all grasp the key link." They came to realize that whenever the key link, class struggle, was firmly grasped, everything else fell into place and production rose rapidly but that whenever there was a departure from this key link, we would lose our bearings, unable to develop production. This greatly enhanced everyone's consciousness of fighting against the revisionist line.

In running an enterprise, are we to put proletarian politics in command or promote material incentive and put profit in command? This struggle involving the question of orientation and road of the enterprise is also a recurrent one. When talking about the necessity of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out that in our socialist enterprises, some people followed that revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, which means "nothing more than promoting material incentive, putting profit in command, offering bonuses without promoting proletarian politics, etc." The great proletarian cultural revolution subjected these things to a scathing criticism. But eradicating the poison of this revisionist line in socialist enterprises is a protracted militant task. The revisionist line will reappear if criticism against it is relaxed only slightly. In 1974, due to overhaul of equipment, by the end of the third quarter the plant was able to fulfill only 71 percent of its production tasks for the whole year. As time was short and the workload heavy, some people again brought out the old "magic weapon" of material incentive and proposed offering some bonuses to "mobilize" the initiative of the masses. At that time, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was developing in a widespread, deep-going and sustained manner. The choice was between relying on the great revolutionary movement to raise the consciousness of the masses and basically arouse their socialist initiative or relying on material incentive and bonuses to stimulate individual initiative? The plant Party committee led everyone to recall the evil consequences of practicing material incentive and putting bonuses in command before the great cultural revolution. At that time, it was precisely material incentives and putting bonuses in command that corrupted people's thinking, undermined revolutionary unity, and drove the enterprise off its course. We mustn't go back, said everyone emotionally. What should they do? The huge changes experienced by the electrical-engineering team of the 3rd shift during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius deeply impressed everyone else. This team was formerly a comparatively backward team. Through severely criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," the team corrected its past erroneous tendency to "grasp only electric wires and not the line, minding only wire-ends and not the heads of people." With Party and Youth League

members as the backbone, the team stepped up its political and ideological work and turned from a backward to an advanced unit. In the past, the control room of converters in the steel refining workshop was often flooded by water because it was improperly located, and production was most adversely affected. For ten years since its operation, the problem remained unsolved and became an "old, big and difficult" problem. After criticizing the idealist "theory of genius" and such fallacies as "the highest are intelligent, and the lowest are stupid" and "virtuous men appreciate righteousness, whereas the small men know only gain" advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers of the team raised their working class sense of responsibility as masters and spirit of creativeness. They volunteered to solve the problem, the solution of which was "the business of others." Using their spare time, they drew up a plan and relocated the control room, thereby at last solving the problem and insuring safety in production. This incident shows that the potentially inexhaustible socialist enthusiasm of the masses generated by the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is the powerful motive force propelling all work. The Party committee of the plant further saw that in a situation where time was short and workload heavy, there was a greater need to firmly grasp the key link of class struggle and to unswervingly implement the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. Accordingly, they led the masses of staff and workers to grasp the focal point of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the entire historical period of socialism and harshly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." Mass criticism promoted a great drive for high output. Under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the whole plant was seized with production fervor. The leading cadres threw themselves into battle night and day at the first line. The "May 7" fighters of the laundry room brought their service right in front of the furnace. The steel-makers said proudly: To boost output for the revolution, we are happy to work as hard we can. A moving scene has appeared in which if a section of the plant runs into difficulties, it receives the assistance from all other sections, with cadres and the masses united as one man pitching themselves for battle and with output rising steadily. By the fourth quarter of 1974, not only did the steel plant win new victories in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, but it broke its highest steel output record since it was first commissioned.

Experience has shown that only by taking class struggle as the key link is it possible to help the staff and workers raise their consciousness of class and line struggles and to fully mobilize their socialist potential. In 1970, the state asked the steel plant to increase its steel output by a big margin. After doing some calculations, certain comrades contended that a large increase in production could be realized only with more state investment and equipment. They suggested that on the basis of three existing converters, an additional one be built in order to insure normal operation of two converters every day, with the other two standing by. This plan was called "four guarantee two." Other comrades disagreed with this proposal and held that by relying on the masses and tapping equipment potential, the existing three converters could be operated in a way that would keep two in normal operation, the so-called "two out of three" method.

The choice between these two methods aroused a controversy. The plant leadership handed this problem to the masses of the whole plant for discussion. They studied Chairman Mao's great teaching about self-reliance and hard struggle and conducted an in-depth analysis. The workers sharply pointed out: the debate between these two methods was definitely not a debate involving purely production technology, but a debate over the line, that is, whether it was necessary to have faith in the masses and to conduct a mass movement. They criticized the erroneous idea of seeing only equipment and not the masses, and, hitting the nail on the head, said: "You've done a lot of calculation, but why don't you take into account the great socialist enthusiasm latent among the broad masses of workers who have been steeled in the great cultural revolution and pledged their loyalty to the Party?" At the same time, based on their own rich practical experience, they made many rational suggestions to exploit the plant's potential and realize the "two out of three" method. The masses educated the cadres, and the views of all were unified. That year, the steel plant saw a mass movement of large-scale technical innovation. The staff and workers racked their brains and pooled their ideas and efforts together. They exploited the equipment potential at every production link and realized the "two out of three" method, pushing steel output up by 69 percent over the previous year without having to add new equipment and investment. The technical innovation experiment on expanding the batch-intake of converters through 3-in-1 efforts began and continued for 5 years, and with assistance provided by fraternal units, gratifying achievements were at last scored. By this measure alone, more than 100,000 additional tons of steel can be produced for the state each year.

In the course of practical struggle, the Party committee of the steel plant has come to deeply realize that the line is fundamental and the masses are the real heroes. As long as the line is correct and the masses are really mobilized, the various difficulties encountered in steel production can be solved readily. Therefore, when they discuss important problems of revolution and production, they invite worker representatives to take part; when they come across production and technical snags, they mobilize the masses to wage a join battle; when they undertake major technical innovation projects, they rely on the masses to make the breakthrough. Moreover, they have gradually formed a system of managing the socialist enterprise by relying on the worker masses. By bringing the wisdom and strength of the worker masses into full play, steel production is developing by leaps and bounds.

Class struggle is protracted and complicated. To stand firm in the great storm and waves and not to go off course, it is imperative to persevere in studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism. To this end, members of the Party and revolutionary committees of the steel plant have made every effort to conscientiously read Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, actively carry out ideological struggle, and incessantly raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Among the leading members, those who have been criticized by the masses during the great cultural revolution constantly see to it that they adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, the masses and oneself. In 1975, after Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was issued, the Party committee of

the steel plant strove to apprehend the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the plane of integrating theory with practice and in the context of the plant's reality, consciously restricting bourgeois rights, criticizing the idea of bourgeois rights and resisting the bourgeois style of life. Over the past years, none of them has used his authority to seek privileges. The leading cadres constantly participate in productive labor. Donning work clothes, they do ideo-political work and direct production at the first line. Where there is difficulty, there the cadres will join the workers in battle. The exemplary actions of the leading cadres inspire the revolutionary spirit of the masses. The workers say: "With the leadership daring to come up to the mountain, we can fight the tiger; with the leadership daring to go down to the sea, we can capture the dragon."

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." The cadres and masses of the steel plant have deeply realized from their own practice over the years that this is an unbreakable truth. To really grasp the key link of class struggle, not only is there the need to struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, but more important, there is also the need to struggle against the capitalist roaders in power within the Party and the revisionist line they push. Only by doing so can we be sure that the enterprise will keep to a firm and correct political orientation and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right down to the basic level. Under the pretext of showing concern for the development of production, the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party resort to eclecticism and sophistry and present the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," putting politics on a par with economics, negating putting politics in command, rejecting class struggle as the key link, tampering with the Party's basic line, and opposing the great principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. This has fully exposed their true features in attempting to restore capitalism. At present, the staff and workers of the steel plant are determined to beat back this Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts with their own action of grasping revolution and promoting production, defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidate and develop the great fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and strive to make greater contributions to developing China's iron and steel industry.

Investigation Team of the Propaganda Department
of the CCP Peking Municipal Committee

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The Continuation and Deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*

- gratified to see the great debate on the revolution in education in Tsinghua University plowing the waves

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

What kind of struggle is the revolutionary great debate now underway in educational, scientific and technical circles? In the first month of this year, the cadres and masses in Tsinghua University used their rich fruits of struggle to tell us that it is a great battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is the continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and has a bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and the whole country.

The publication of Chairman Mao's two poems and the New Year's Day editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i magazine and Chieh-fang-chün Pao vigorously inspired the revolutionary fighting spirits of the teachers, students, staff members and workers of Tsinghua University in repulsing the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts, and further raised their awareness of the essence of this struggle. They reviewed the course of this great debate: Around the summer of last year, a gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts was whipped up in society. A few people who adhered to the revisionist line in Tsinghua University came forward to attack on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Discerning the trend of the current class struggle, our great leader Chairman Mao opportunely grasped the opportunity for battle and personally initiated this revolutionary great debate. Under the sincere solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and led by Party organizations at all levels, the cadres and masses thoroughly exposed and criticized revisionism. Following this, they launched a fierce counter-attack against the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts in educational, scientific and technical circles as a whole.

A large number of facts exposed in the struggle have increasingly demonstrated that this struggle is neither isolated nor fortuitous, but has a profound political background. The Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts in educational, scientific and technical circles is a prominent expression of the current struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

In the course of studying Chairman Mao's two poems and the New Year's Day editorial, many comrades have raised a series of questions: Why is it that a few people in educational, scientific and technical circles have come forward at the same time to whip up the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts? Why are these people so frantic as to direct their spearhead of attack at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and at Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line? Why are they so bold as to go all out

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to settle accounts with and reverse the verdicts on the great proletarian cultural revolution? Why are they so fearless and reassured as to pin their hope on the restoration forces taking the capitalist road? And where has this Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts come from?

Faced with these questions, the Party committee of Tsinghua University has led the teachers, students, staff members and workers to link the absurd arguments of revisionism in educational circles with the strange phenomena emerging in society and make a comparison between the present struggle and to compare the actual struggle with the history of Marxist opposition to opportunism. The answer is very clear: This struggle is not simply a controversy on the high or low quality of education, a controversy on how to realize the "four modernizations," or a question of leadership in a few units. The Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts is whipped up by people to blatantly launch an all-round attack on the proletariat politically, ideologically and organizationally. They want to "reverse" this and that but their most fundamental aim is to change the Party's basic line, and hence to switch the Marxist-Leninist orientation and the socialist road of our whole nation and change the color of our whole country. The worker-peasant-soldier students aptly say, "Should the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts have its way, the restoration of capitalism would take place in China, we would be driven out of the campus, and the heads of millions upon millions of class brothers would roll in the sand."

The Tsinghua University Party Committee organized the teachers, students, staff mebers and workers to study once again Chairman Mao's important instructions issued since the great proletarian cultural revolution, take class struggle as the key link, and make a class analysis of those who whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts. At the outset of the great debate, the university put up a big-character poster entitled, "The Capitalist-Roaders Are Still Going Strong" to focus the struggle on a handful of capitalist-roaders within the Party who refused to show repentance.

As the great debate deepens further, the class front become clearer and clearer. The bourgeois representatives whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts are in the main those capitalist-roaders who had been criticized and exposed during the great proletarian cultural revolution but have refused to show repentance. Some of them admitted defeat when the wind was blowing but started to reverse the verdicts immediately the wind died down. Some had never admitted defeat. Among them, some are alien class elements who wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks and some were active during the period of democratic revolution but are antagonistic to the proletariat in everything in the socialist period.

As the socialist revolution deepens step by step, we must grasp the changes in class relations. Some people were fellow travelers of the Party in the past but they have never been Marxists, and their world outlook is a bourgeois one. Today, as the socialist revolution further deepens, they stand on the side of the hostile class or, in other words, on the side of the landlord and bourgeois classes. As soon as they come to power, they stubbornly represent the aspirations of the landlord and bourgeois classes and persist in taking the capitalist road.

The facts thus mercilessly tell us that the capitalist-roaders are still going strong and the capitulationists are really still there. Where is the origin of this Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts? It originates from those persons in power within the Party who take the capitalist road, adhere to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and have up to now still refused to show any repentance.

By way of such analysis and study, the cadres and the masses have a deeper understanding that the principal contradiction at present is still the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the main danger at present is still revisionism, and the most dangerous are those in power within the Party who take the capitalist road and represent the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes. The capitalist-raoders are still going strong. This is a social phenomenon which will permanently exist throughout the entire period of socialism; it is determined by the law of class struggle and is independent of man's will.

Having grasped the trend of development of the movement, the Tsinghua University Party Committee swiftly made arrangements for unfolding the great debate in depth. Members of Party committees at all levels went deep into classes and groups to build up the grassroots Party branches into strong bulwarks capable of fighting against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Mass study and criticism campaigns were launched with classes and groups as bases, thus strengthening Party leadership over the movement and extensively mobilizing the masses. Fighting shoulder to shoulder, the cadres and the masses, on the basis of the great debate in the previous period, firmly grasped the essence of the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts in negating the taking of class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic line and in restoring capitalism. They linked together the revisionist fallacies in educational, scientific and technical circles and in other sectors of society for systematic and deep-going mass criticism.

In the course of mass criticism, the teachers, students, staff members and workers thirstily read works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao in close connection with the actual struggle. On the relations between politics and economy and other questions, resolute struggles had been waged by our great revolutionary teacher Lenin against Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin, and by Chairman Mao against Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Liu Sha-ch'i and Lin Piao, and brilliant works were written.

"Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them to only a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." The cadres and masses conscientiously study the important expositions of Lenin and Chairman Mao, and they also learn some Marxist philosophy as well as some history of Chinese philosophy. They study the experiences of the revolutionary teachers in struggle as well as the tragic and sad lesson of the degeneration of the Soviet Union into social-imperialism. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, the revolutionary great debate deepens step by step and the level of mass criticism is higher and higher.

Last year, the worker-peasant-soldier students of class 31 of the specialty in automation under the industrial automation department wrote a

big-character poster. At the beginning, they gave it the title "Who has after all held back the four modernizations?" The big-character poster cites a host of facts to show that "the four modernizations are held back" not by us but by the gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts. As the great debate deepened, many comrades asked: Do the people who whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts really care about the four modernizations? With this question in mind, the worker-peasant-soldier students repeatedly studied works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Their ideological understanding was raised each time the big-character poster was revised. At last, they changed the title of the big-character poster to: "Does the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts seek to bring about modernization or restoration?"

The big-character poster pointed out: The bourgeoisie falsely claims that class struggle will not be touched, with the aim to benumb the masses of the people and oppose the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. Leaving out class struggle or the line, modernization cannot be carried out and even if it could be effected for a time, it will in the end collapse or become imperialist or social-imperialist modernization. The Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts uses the "four modernizations" as a big stick to stifle socialist new things and attack the proletariat. This shows that while making a sham effort to carry out modernization, their true aim is to restore capitalism. Sending satellites up to the sky is only the pretext, and their true intention is to make "the red flag fall to the ground."

Recently, the broad masses of teachers, students, staff members and workers have made new progress in the criticism of this revisionist fallacy. They linked together the revisionist absurd arguments in educational, scientific and technical circles and in other sectors for criticism. They see not only the perilous evil intention hidden under the big banner but also the complete set of revisionist programs and lines hidden behind the "four modernizations." Those who whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts openly negated the taking of class struggle as the key link. In fact, they wanted to take their revisionist line as the key link. They agitated people everywhere to whip up "a vocational typhoon" or "an economic typhoon" and "increase the wind force to the 12th grade if the 8th grade is not strong enough in intensity," in a vain attempt to sweep away all at once proletarian politics, the key link of class struggle, and the Party's basic line.

What is a key link? The proletarian revolutionary teachers had made brilliant and wise statements long ago. Marx and Engels pointed out: "For almost 40 years, we have attached great importance to class struggle, and considered it as a direct motive force in history. We have especially paid attention to the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and held that it is the greatest leverage in contemporary social changes. Therefore, we can never walk together with those who want to abolish this class struggle from the movement."

Lenin pointed out: "Compared with economics, politics cannot but occupy first place. Any refusal to affirm this amounts to forgetting the most rudimentary common knowledge of Marxism." "Opportunism precisely does not admit that there is class struggle in the most important sector as well as in the period of transition from capitalism to communism and in the period for the overthrow and total abolition of the bourgeoisie."

Chairman Mao points out: "Never forget classes and class struggle." "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

After studying the teachings of our revolutionary teachers and looking over those absurd arguments for Right reversal of verdicts, the broad masses of teachers, students, staff members and workers in Tsinghua University clearly understand that the vain attempt to change the Party's basic line in order to attain the criminal goal of restoring capitalism is precisely the political program of the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts. Such fallacies as "the quality of education is low," "scientific research is backward," and "the four modernizations are held back" are all born out of this political program. In order to counter-attack the proletariat in revenge, the capitalist-roaders who are presently taking the capitalist road wildly oppose Marxism and attack Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. What they stubbornly adhere to is precisely the revisionist line successively pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao that went bankrupt one after the other. It is precisely the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces and other revisionist sinister trash which Liu Shao-ch'i advocated for 17 years and which Lin Piao vainly attempted to insert into the political report at the 9th National Party Congress.

For the sake of changing the Party's basic line, they waved a red flag to oppose the Red flag on the one hand and pushed eclecticism on the other. Faced with such counter-revolutionary tactics of theirs, the broad masses of teachers, students, staff members and workers looked through Lenin's brilliant works "More on Trade Unions," "The Current Situation" and "The Errors of Trotsky and Bukharin" and found that their tactics were nothing but the trash picked up from Bukharin.

During the polemics between Lenin, Trotsky and Bukharin, Bukharin once said that Lenin looked at things "politically" while Trotsky looked at things "economically," but he sought to unify the two sides and serve as a "buffer." Such nonsense was sternly repudiated by Lenin. Lenin said: "By proclaiming his combination of looking at problems politically with looking at problems economically, Bukharin has theoretically degenerated into eclecticism." "if someone says (or indirectly expresses the idea) that looking at problems politically and looking at problems 'economically' are of equal value, and that both can be adopted, this only means that the most fundamental common knowledge of Marxism has been forgotten."

Eclecticism is revisionism. In order to achieve their counter-revolutionary goal and to conceal their deeds, the revisionists, who are at the end of their tether, make no scruple of resorting to their old tricks. The revolutionary people who are armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, opportunely rip off their veil, grab at their sinister hands for attacking the proletariat and bare their plot to restore capitalism.

Such examples of using study to spur mass criticism are many in Tsinghua University. Many comrades, in the course of writing a big-character poster, have to study a dozen or even scores of works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. The worker-peasant-soldier students of class 32 of the specialty in machine tools under the Department of Precision Instruments said: "Although much time has to be spent in writing such big-character

posters, we are able to accurately grasp the vital issue and raise our ideological understanding. Struggle needs Marxism, and Marxism guides us in struggle."

As the revolutionary great debate is a great revolutionary movement, it is bound to meet with resistance. After breaking down the many layered resistance, Tsinghua University's great debate on the educational revolution swiftly surges forward. Such resistance mainly comes from the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party and from the old force of habit. The persons presently taking the capitalist road still wildly attempt to repress this great debate and the masses who have risen to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts. They still distort the essence of this struggle and use the idea of bourgeois rights and the old traditional ideas to corrode the cadres and the masses in a vain attempt to win over some people to their side to follow them in taking the capitalist road.

Their struggle will come to naught. When resistance was encountered, a leading cadre in Tsinghua University said: "The future is bright; the road is tortuous. The capitalist-roaders want to take the capitalist road, but this is no thoroughfare, and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals who have been steeled by the great proletarian cultural revolution will never accede to their wish. We are confident of victory in this great debate and in crushing the fond dream of any capitalist-roader in restoring capitalism."

Over the past three months, Tsinghua University's great debate has been flaring like fire set to dry tinder. Fighting shoulder to shoulder in unity, the teachers, students and working staff have organized themselves in mammoth revolutionary contingents and have won one victory after another. This fully shows that once we have grasped the essence of this struggle and bared the heinous features of a handful of people who stubbornly uphold the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, all cadres and the masses, including the comrades who have been influenced by them, will swiftly rise to wage a resolute struggle against them.

This gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse previous verdicts has its international origin as well as its domestic origin. Due to the existence of bourgeois rights, old traditional concepts and classes, the bacteria of the old society still attack us physically all the time, and consequently, they still have a definite market among the cadres and workers. This great debate of ours is designed to temper the masses in struggle, so that the broad masses could more profoundly understand the social origin of revisionism and narrow the market for revisionism as far as possible. In this great debate, the teachers, students and working staff of Tsinghua University have greatly raised both their awareness of class struggle, the two-line struggle and continued revolution and their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. Their communist thinking is in the course of rapidly growing. They say: "In the great debate, what we have lost is the spiritual shackles of the old society, and what we have won is the brilliant victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

To the handful of capitalist-roaders who are very isolated and are increasingly being ostracized, the revolutionary masses of Tsinghua University have this to say: "If you are willing to repent sincerely and not ostensibly,

you are welcomed. But if you still want to play with tricks, just take a look at the past: Liu Shao-ch'i, who wildly attempted to suppress the great proletarian cultural revolution, together with his bourgeois headquarters, had been crushed by the torrents of the revolutionary mass movement."

It is with this revolutionary spirit and under the guidance of the Party that the cadres and the masses of Tsinghua University are marching forward victoriously loudly chanting Chairman Mao's two poems:

"Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners
are flying wherever men live,"

"Look you, the world is being turned upside down,"

Jen-min Jih-pao reporter

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao,
February 6, 1976.)

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The Mortal Wound Is the Restoration of Capitalism*

- the teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University criticize the revisionist program with "the three instructions as the key link"

(Hung-ch'i / Red Flag /, No. 3, March 1, 1976)

"Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

This important instruction recently issued by our great leader Chairman Mao has greatly strengthened the fighting will of the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University in striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. They say that "taking the three instructions as the key link" is the revisionist program of the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves in roundly opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Chairman Mao's instruction is precisely a tit-for-tat criticism of it. We must firmly grasp and make full use of this strong ideological weapon and carry through to the end the struggle to strike back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

In accordance with this important instruction of Chairman Mao's, the Peking University Party Committee has led the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers in studying the expositions by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on class struggle and in reviewing the fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the past year.

In the spring of 1975, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country conscientiously studied our great leader Chairman Mao's important instruction on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal, too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power." These important instructions by Chairman Mao further raised the consciousness of the people throughout the country in taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line and carrying the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end. Chairman Mao reminded us that "it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power." The revolutionary masses enthusiastically studied and discussed these instructions. At the same time, this also aroused fear and resistance among those people who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie and attempted to restore capitalism. They opposed criticism of revisionism

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and resented the criticism of bourgeois rights. They thus had to think of ways to sabotage this study movement.

It was at this time that the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refused to repent and reform themselves, distorted with an ulterior object in view our great leader Chairman Mao's instructions. They put two other instructions on the same footing with the instruction on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and deceptively put forward the slogan of "taking the three instructions as the key link." They attempted to use this tactic to negate Chairman Mao's consistent teachings on the need to take class struggle as the key link and to grasp class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to negate his important instruction on the need to thoroughly understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to negate the necessity to place the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat above all else. They also alleged that "the three important instructions are inter-related and cannot be separated from one another." From then on, they publicized everywhere that "this is the general program for all kinds of work."

The reality of this serious struggle makes us understand profoundly that the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves have impatiently cast forth this revisionist program and flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao's instruction on the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat because they want to oppose and do away with the principle of taking class struggle as the key link, the Party's basic line, the criticism of revisionism and capitalism, and the restriction of bourgeois rights of which the capitalist-roaders within the Party are very much afraid. The mortal wound of "taking the three instructions as the key link" is the practice of revisionism and restoration of capitalism.

What should we take as the key link throughout the entire historical period of socialism? With this question in mind, the teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University conscientiously studied relevant expositions by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao.

Marx and Engels pointed out: "For almost 40 years, we have paid great attention to class struggle and regarded it as the direct motive force of history. We particularly attach great importance to the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and consider it the biggest level for implementing reforms in modern society. Therefore, we can never take the same road with those who want to write off class struggle from the movement."

Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in a new form. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle carried out by the proletariat which has won victory and seized political power against the bourgeoisie which has been defeated but not wiped out and made extinct, and which has not ceased but stepped up its resistance.

Back on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out at the 2nd plenum of the 7th CCP Central Committee that after the seizure

of political power throughout the country, the principal contradiction at home was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." He especially reminded us that after the enemies with guns were wiped out, there would still be enemies without guns who were bound to wage desperate struggle against us, and we could never take them lightly. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main, Chairman Mao also warned the whole Party: "Class struggle is not yet over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological sphere between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times even become very acute."

In 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out, "Never forget classes and class struggle." He also set forth for our Party the basic line for the entire historical period of socialism.

In the course of criticizing and repudiating Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in 1965, Chairman Mao once again pointed out: "Class contradictions, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transition period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so."

In the May 16, 1966 circular, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and the cultural spheres are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once the time is ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorshp of the bourgeoisie."

The brilliant and wise assertions of our revolutionary teacher make the broad masses of teachers, students, staff members and workers of the university profoundly understand that in class society, class struggle is invariably the motive force and lever of historical development. In the entire historical period of socialism, there always are classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction. "The existence and development of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie determine and influence the existence and development of other contradictions." Therefore, we must take class struggle as the key link in all our work.

In calling for taking the three instructions as "the key link in all kinds of work," the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves mean to negate the principle of taking class struggle as the key link and to oppose Chairman Mao's consistent teachings. They not only raise stability and unity and development of the national economy to the "key link" status, but also call for "taking consolidation as the key link," etc. By resorting to such eclectic tactics to confuse and replace the key link with other items, they have cast this key link of class struggle to the winds.

After studying the history of the struggles by the proletarian revolutionary teachers against opportunism, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University discover that what the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves energetically publicize is nothing more than the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and the theory of productive forces peddled again and again by opportunists at home and abroad. The socialism they want to build is nothing but Khrushchev's "goulash," and "jeweled palace in Elfland's hills."

Why do the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves want to negate the principle of taking class struggle as the key link? What are they attempting to do? One can understand this clearly by taking a look at the following confession:

When the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts was blowing hard, the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refused to repent and reform themselves baldly said, "So long as others accuse you of practicing restoration, you have done your work well." This fully shows that their whole aim in "taking the three instructions as the key link" is to restore capitalism. They negate the principle of taking class struggle as the key link not because they want to write off class struggle but because they want to lull the revolutionary vigilance of the proletariat and the masses of the people. What they want to negate is the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. As regards the attack launched by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, far from giving it up, they exercise an ever tighter grip on it. They boldly launch counter-attack in revenge against the proletariat, follow the example of Confucius in "subduing oneself and returning to propriety" and go all out to restore capitalism. The conclusive evidence lies in that as soon as the revisionist program of "taking the three instructions as the key link" is cast forth, the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts with restoration and regression as its objective begins to blow.

In his struggle against opportunism, Lenin pointed out: "The theoretical victory of Marxism compels its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. This is historical dialectics." Waving a Red flag to oppose the Red flag is the heirloom of all opportunists in opposing Marxism.

The revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University cite numerous facts to show that, while giving lip service to implementing Chairman Mao's three instructions, the capitalist-roaders within the Party actually pour cold water on the revolutionary mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, extend bourgeois rights and widen the three major differences. Acting like bourgeois aristocrats and lords, they energetically whip up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. They allege that "the present is not so good as the past," and attempt to negate the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and to strangle socialist new things. In specific departments where they have usurped leadership, the capitalist-roaders on the move "recruit hermits" and "call to office those who have fallen into obscurity" on the one hand, and laud to the skies the bourgeois intellectuals who have not been satisfactorily reformed in a vain attempt to place these

bourgeois intellectuals above the Party committee. On the other hand, they try their utmost to sow discord in the relationship between the intellectuals and the Party and to oppose the intellectuals who advance continuously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

They distort the slogan of stability and unity, and use various means to sabotage stability and unity. They negate the "three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young" and the five requirements set by Chairman Mao for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The facts fully show that those who practice revisionism are bound to promote disunity. The capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves are the source of disunity. Calling black white, they unscrupulously split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and direct their spearhead against our great leader Chairman Mao and against his revolutionary line.

They use the development of the national economy and the realization of "four modernizations" as the banner to hoodwink people, and instigate people everywhere to whip up a "vocational typhoon" or "economic typhoon" in a vain attempt to sweep away proletarian politics, the key link of class struggle, and the Party's basic line, and to replace them with bourgeois politics and the revisionist line. Some units once again bring out material incentives, profits in command and the rules and regulations for the practice of control, strangulation and suppression which had been discredited by criticism in the great proletarian cultural revolution, thus hampering the development of production. The workers of a factory run by Peking University aptly say, "The capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves basically have no desire to develop socialist production, but only want to undermine socialism, sabotage production and restore capitalism.

These alarming facts make the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University see clearly the danger of the revisionist program with the "three instructions as the key link." They re-study Chairman Mao's important instruction: If we forget classes and class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color." Comrades, please think it over in the light of actual struggle. How dangerous this would be!

Grasping the essence of the revisionist line pushed by the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University expose and criticize the revisionist program with the "three instructions" as the key link, and come to realize more profoundly that the current struggle to strike back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is a great struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the continuation of the struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and the continuation and deepening of the.

great proletarian cultural revolution. They say, "A great victory has been won in the great debate on the educational revolution, but the struggle is not over and is still developing in depth. The policies laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party have always been based on the principle of 'taking warning from the past in order to be more careful for the future and treating the illness to save the patient.' We will keep a close watch on how the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves will act."

Full of revolutionary pride and great aspirations, the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members and workers of Peking University, under the leadership and solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and under the direct leadership of the university Party committee and other Party organizations in the university, are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of the whole country, see through in good time any plot the capitalist-roaders within the Party who refuse to repent and reform themselves may hatch, brave the wind and waves, and win still greater victories in striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

Jen-min Jih-pao reporter

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao, February 17, 1976.)

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